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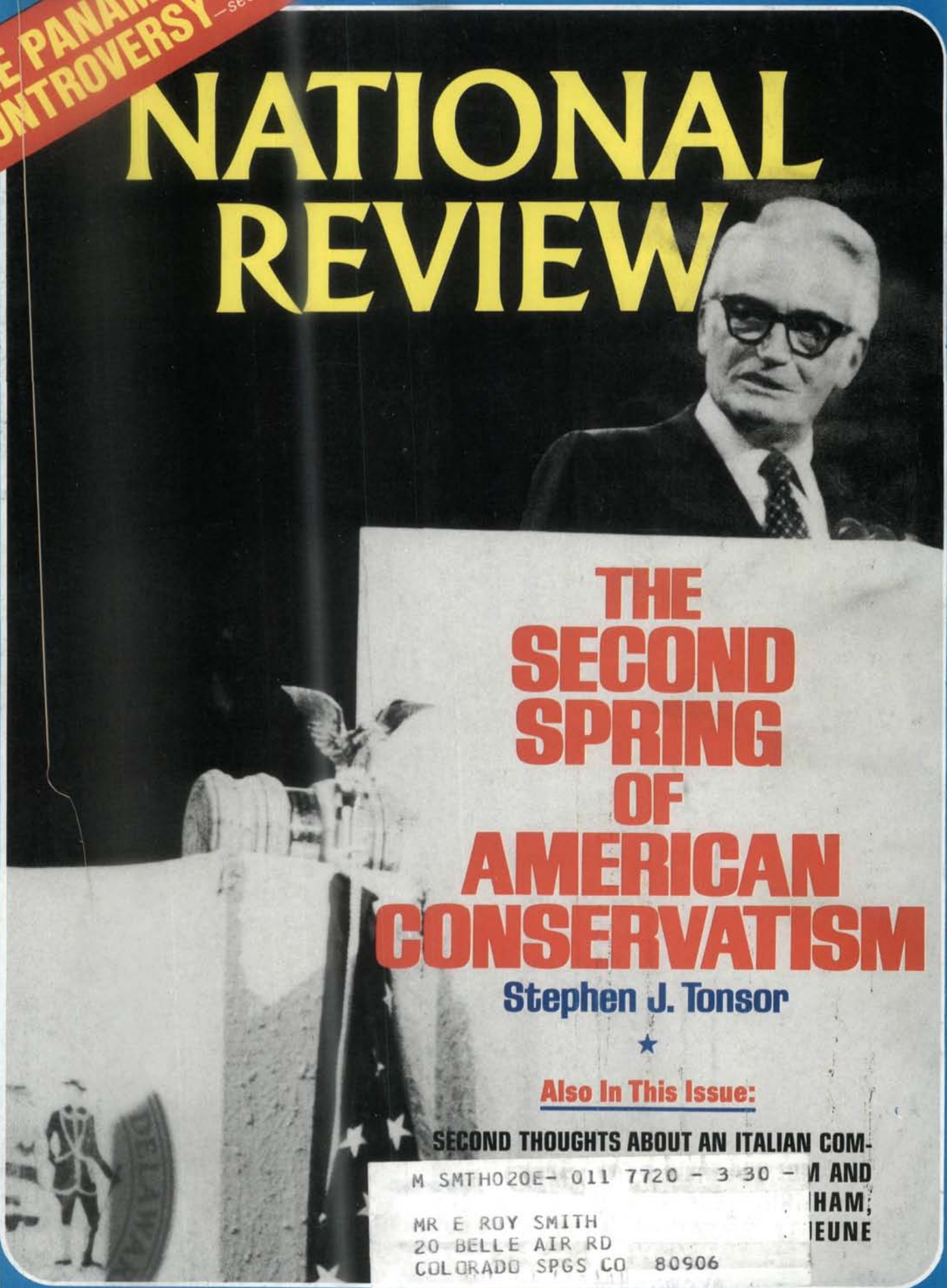
NATIONAL REVIEW



THE SECOND SPRING OF AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

Stephen J. Tonsor

★

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The Chicago Connection.

With it, the phone system of tomorrow is in Chicago today.

A while ago, we told you lightwave communications was just around the corner. Today, it's in the streets of Chicago.

For the first time, the human voice, business data and even video signals are being carried by lightwaves traveling over hair-thin glass fibers. Instead of electric current traveling over copper wire.

But without that little link you see on the opposite page, lightwave communications for such a wide range of services might still be an experiment in a lab. And without Western Electric technology, the link might still be a design on a blueprint.

The link is an outgrowth of an idea from the people at Bell Labs. While they were putting the major components of the lightwave system together, they had to find a way to splice the glass fibers and get the light across the splice.

A Simple Idea

The idea they came up with was deceptively simple. A coupling device made up of tiny grooved chips, smaller than the tip of your finger, that would guide the ends of the hair-thin fibers and butt them up in perfect alignment.

There was only one hitch. Making one chip was easy. But there was no machinery that could mass produce all the identical chips that would be needed for a lightwave system like the one in Chicago.

Making Ideas Reality

That's where Western Electric comes in. Turning ideas into technological innovations is nothing new at Western Electric.

Over the years, Western Electric has piled up an impressive list of innovations that have become manufacturing standards.

It was the first company in the world to manufacture the transistor.

It was the first to put the laser to work as a useful production tool.

And it is the company that went beyond conventional machining techniques to make the chips for Chicago's lightwave system.

Each chip is pure silicon crystal. Its internal structure (a criss-cross arrangement of intersecting planes) provides a built-in blueprint for regularly spaced grooves. And because the crystal's diagonal planes etch faster than its perpendicular planes, uniform grooves can be chemically cut into the chip.

By combining the science of chemistry and the art of lithography, Western Electric's Engineering Research Center developed a way to etch 12 ultra-precise, perfectly shaped, identical V-grooves on each chip. With each groove no wider than a hair and separated only by a hair's breadth from its neighbors.

And, more importantly, they were able to reproduce these chips so that each one was a perfect double of the other.

Teamwork is the Key

The telecommunications revolution beginning in Chicago is another good example of how Western Electric and Bell Labs help put new technology into practical use for the Bell telephone companies, quickly and economically.

Their close relationship is an important reason why your telephone system is the most efficient and reliable communications system in the world. And it's a basic reason why innovations in technology are a common occurrence in the Bell System.

Western Electric

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Political ideologies harden into dogma for a simple reason: born of particular historical agonies, they carry the stamp of their origins, even when old struggles are superseded by new. American conservatism, no exception, now suffers from tired blood and rigidity. But rejuvenation is on the way, and from an unexpected quarter.
Stephen J. Tonsor

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Letters

Skeptic's Hope

I'm still somewhat skeptical about plutonium after having read Bernard Cohen's "The Case for the Breeder Reactor" [Sept. 16]—although I must confess that, as a traditionalist, I would probably have been skeptical of Mr. Edison's invention had I been born a century earlier. What's hard to believe, in this age of scientific marvels, is not that something so simple could actually satisfy our energy needs (and even our energy wants), but that it could do so without changing the quality of life for the worse. But if Mr. Cohen is right, that will indeed be the case. For all our sakes, I hope he is.

New London, Conn. HUGH WESTON

Panama Spectrum

Re your "Preliminary Thoughts" on the Panama Canal Treaty ["The Week," Sept. 2]: You have deeply wounded your readership—alas, probably the worst-reasoned article in the history of *NR*.

El Paso, Tex. TAYLOR ZIMMERMAN

Your editorial was the most intelligent and informing assessment of the Panama Canal Treaty I've read. The parallel Philippine situation helps us to see our present problem in perspective.

I had opposed the Treaty because it seemed to me that we were acting from weakness. As usual, I've received the facts from *NR*.

SISTER MARY LAWRENCE RILEY
St. Louis, Mo.

It is of no moment that our own military men support the Treaty, for whatever reasons. They would be sacked if they didn't. Remember the distinguished General Singlaub in South Korea? Now we know why he was so summarily summoned home.

And military men not subject to this censorship do not support the proposal. Four ex-Chiefs of Naval Operations—George Anderson, Arleigh Burke, Robert Carney, and Thomas Moorer—wrote to President Carter in June in forcefully stated opposition. Admiral Moorer wrote: "Surrender of U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone would inevitably lead to the transformation of the entire friendly character of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. . . . In military affairs, there is no substitute for ownership of the territory and the ability to control or to deny the waters and the air space."

Oxford, Md. ARTHUR D. WELTON

James Burnham has taught us, in *Suicide of the West*, that the function of liberalism is to reconcile Westerners to defeat and decline. Has this prerogative been usurped by modern intellectual conservatives? In the name of realism the editors of *NR* lead us down the familiar path of compromise and surrender. Consider realistically: 1) If we are too weak to defend the Canal when we own it, how are we to defend its neutrality after we have given it away? 2) Why should Carter's treaty with a Marxist dictator in Panama be of any more value than Nixon's treaty with a Marxist dictator in North Vietnam?

Asheville, N.C. DAN WALTERS

Because we hold the chips—if we choose to use them. If we do not, the new treaty is no better than the old one, and vice versa. —ED.

As if beholding a rainbow in the sky, my heart indeed leapt up when I read your "The Proposed Treaty: Preliminary Thoughts." American conservatism has long been fatally troubled by a Whig Party syndrome—leading from the gut, not the brain, in a desperate hope to marry Virtue and Victory in a symbolic triumph over the enemy, even while guaranteeing later humiliation. It has seemed as if conservatives were doing it again, preparing for the day when the very senators who killed the Treaty would scuttle away from an endless guerrilla war which (unlike Vietnam) academia and media would be able honestly to tie around the neck of American conservatives.

Your analysis shows that there still are American conservatives who realize the horrible but repeatedly proved fact that America now and in the foreseeable future simply will not tolerate the kind of conflict which any reasonable straight-line scenario on the Canal would lead toward.

Troy, Ala. JOHN W. BOWLING

Conservatives are realistic, and realism calls for maintaining our present control over the Canal.

We who oppose the Treaty are in a morally correct position, and we have no reason to expect excessive adverse consequences if the Treaty is killed. (There are all sorts of ways to bury the Treaty quietly, and this is what the Senate should do. A sensible method would be to quibble over a few minor points, forcing it to be withdrawn for redrafting; then negotiations would have to start all over again.)

La Puente, Calif. DAVID C. ARGALL

I must applaud the stand taken by NATIONAL REVIEW in this matter. Let us in-

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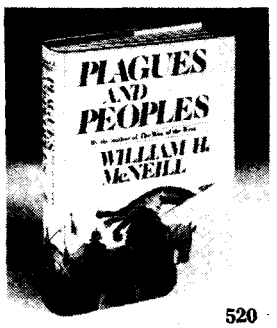

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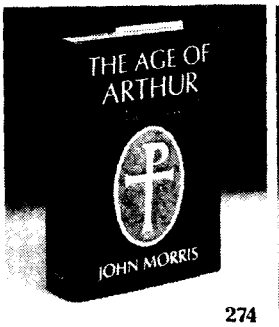

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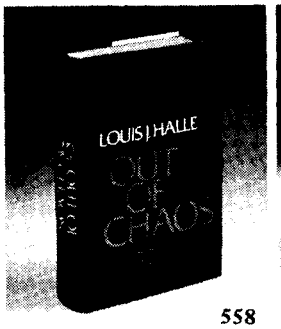

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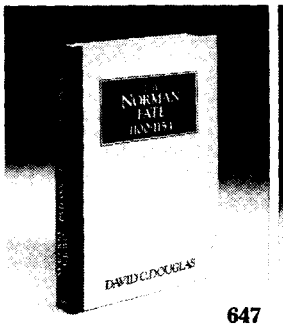

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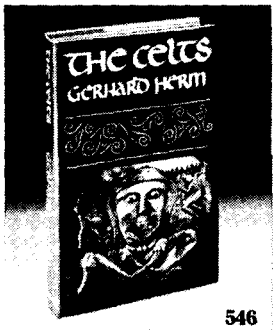

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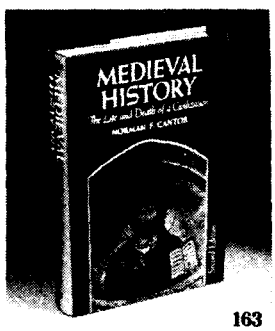

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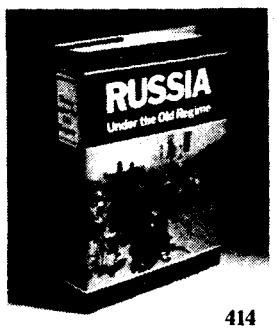

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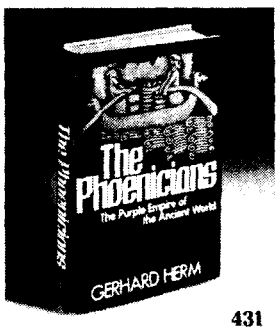

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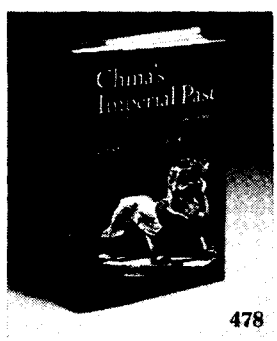

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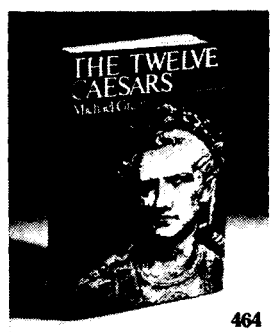

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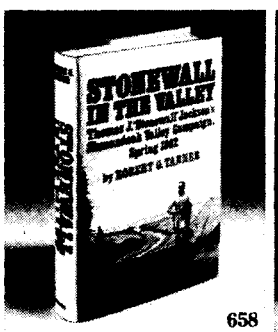

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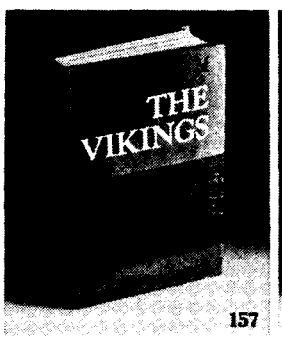

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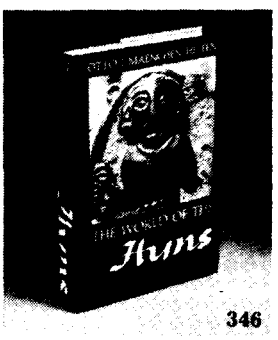

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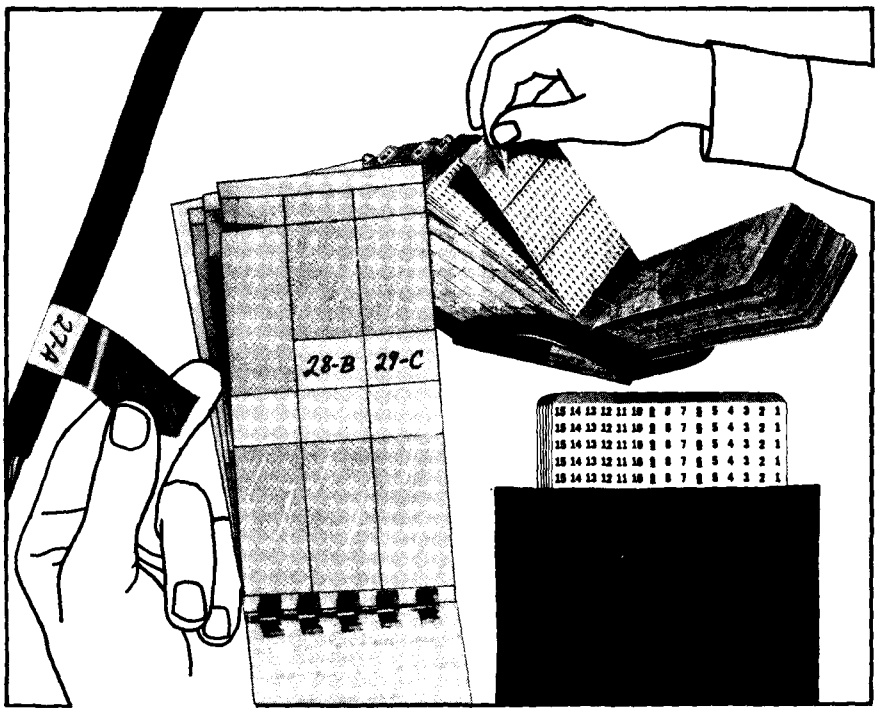

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deed examine the Treaty carefully, and approve, modify, or reject it on its merits; it should neither be approved nor be rejected without examination because of pressure from the knee-jerks on either side of the political spectrum.

Nashville, Tenn. BRET HOOPER

With 99.44 per cent of *NR*'s articles I wholeheartedly agree. With "The Proposed Treaty: Preliminary Thoughts," however, I had to flip back to the cover of the magazine to make sure I had *NR*. I know *NR* can't always be Right, but on this one I think you've swallowed the State Department's propaganda.

You are still tops with me, but I just could not let this one pass.

Los Angeles, Calif. PATRICK COYLE

I disagree with NATIONAL REVIEW's statement that this is not the time to throw down the gauntlet. In the wake of Vietnam, Carter's plans for pulling out of Korea, and Kennedy's endorsement of throwing Taiwan to the wolves, I feel that we must force the Administration to draw the line. Polls show public sentiment to be overwhelmingly in favor of keeping the Canal. Furthermore, the issues involved are simple and readily understood. As a veteran of the campus during Vietnam, I can tell you that the will to win in Vietnam was broken because Vietnam was complicated and very far away, and because the American interest was abstract ("defending freedom") rather than pragmatic ("We bought it, we built it, it's ours").

America is facing a crisis of will. Perhaps Kissinger is correct in believing that we are on the ebb-tide and that all we can do is make the decline as painless as possible. I, for one, do not believe that the dialectic of history is inexorable. The Canal issue is the perfect issue to rally around. It is clearly understandable; an overwhelming majority of Americans have already decided that we should keep it; it could reverse a dangerous trend which can be characterized as "the setting-sun syndrome." America has the will to remain great—let's help her to focus that will.

New York, N.Y. DON W. WEBER

NR's preliminary endorsement of detente with Panama was superbly convincing. I only wish it weren't. You succeeded in reducing the issue to its quintessence: If the United States of America is not prepared to defend the Canal, then the new give-away treaty is essential. Dispatch the Canal with haste. I agree. There is too much evidence, as one reads *NR*, of the lost will. And now *NR* actually supports Angolization on our own continent.

But perhaps there is some good in everything. Now that our yellow stripe has been openly acknowledged, unobscured

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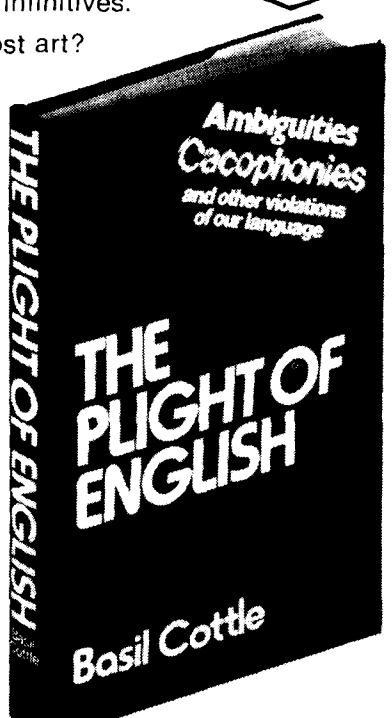

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by the niceties of diplomacy, maybe we can de-politicize "human rights" and talk more effectively about human dignity and personal freedom in proper context. Never mind that there will be no one with the will *or* the strength to pursue such honest idealism once it is articulated.

To quote M. Stanton Evans in much the same context, on page 1009 of the same issue: "The dreadful irony in all this is that our weakness is so thoroughly self-inflicted."

Matthews, N.C. ROBERT S. LAMMERS

Quibble

An open letter to Nika Hazelton, re her column of August 19:

You naughty, naughty lady! To quote Baudelaire's sensuous musicality to describe—turtles! *Mon enfant, ma sœur,* who but you would dare?

Nyack, N.Y. IRENE STRASZKIEWICZ

Mon enfant, ma sœur,
*J'ai (*indeed*) songé à la douceur*
D'aller là-bas vivre ensemble (avec les tortues),
Où le monde s'endort
Dans une chaude lumière. —NH

Outrage

I'm outraged by your cheap shots at *MAD* magazine [Sept. 2]. To say you were only quoting Hiss & Lewis in the *New York Times Magazine* is no excuse. Harvey Kurtzman just may be a living legend, but Don Martin is one for sure. Also, *MAD* goes after everybody—Right, Left, Center; business, labor, government; nobody escapes *MAD*'s sledgehammer humor.

MAD accepts no advertising, since to do so would compromise its position as the Establishment's (including the liberal Establishment's) enemy.

Please buy a copy of *MAD* (price 60¢ cheap) and see if you don't change your mind.

Los Angeles, Calif. PARK CHAMBERLAIN

I see D. Keith Mano is at it again. In his latest trenchant analysis of man-woman relationships ["The Arithmetic of Love," Aug. 19], he says, "As far as human relationships are concerned: the man will increase in value; the woman will depreciate. Age is hardly relevant for men." Mr. Mano perpetuates more ancient myths than Bulfinch. The old chestnut that a man with a thickening waistline, thinning hair, and rust in his spark plugs is still God's gift to women should be laid to rest, preferably with a stake through its heart. Fortunately, most men realize that the surest way for a guy to make an ass of himself is to believe that, while women of his age are ready for Red Cross shoes and Lydia Pinkham's, he is himself a mere stripling. But then, most men have a lot more sense than Mr. Mano has.

He should be an interesting specimen of *Homo fatuus* when he hits middle age. He already has a running start.

Clearwater, Fla. KATHERINE PATRICK

At Their Peril

Re the letter by Eugene T. Doyle [Sept. 2], commenting on the deplorable condition of top level security control which permits the theft of and transmission to the Soviets of our advanced defense technology: The failure to tighten up security practices may well result from the fact that Senator Joseph McCarthy tried to do that very thing 27 years ago, and everybody still remembers what happened to him.

Roswell, Ga. LYON STEINE, MD

Addenda

I was pleased that M. Stanton Evans ["The Lawmakers," Sept. 2] called upon conservatives to write their congressmen urging them to support Representatives Lawrence P. McDonald (D., Ga.) and John Ashbrook (R., Ohio) in their attempt to re-establish the much-needed House Internal Security Committee.

Permit me, however, to point out an error which could lead to some confusion. This proposal is a House Resolution and should be designated H. Res. 48. In the article it was referred to as HR-48, a bill completely unrelated to this issue.

Austin, Tex. BARRY HAWKINS

High time *Darby O'Gill* got the recognition it deserves ["Ah, Begorrah!" by M. J. Sobran Jr., Aug. 19]. But why no mention of director Robert Stevenson?

Ypsilanti, Mich. ARTHUR KELLERMAN

A slight addition prithee. Although the *New York Times* did not blame Berkowitz' acts on unemployment or racism ["The Week," Sept. 2], it did indeed call for a "Massive Federal Effort" to deny everyone the right to own a gun.

It seems that that right contributed to those acts. Never mind that the gun in question was acquired through an *illegal* purchase in Houston, Texas and an *illegal* resale to Berkowitz.

By the bye, sometime last year—along about September, I believe—a New York bus driver shot one of the three men who were fleeing the bus after an assault, during which one of them had stabbed that driver. The *New York Times* related the assault and shooting in one or perhaps two paragraphs of a ten- or fifteen-paragraph story. And the great bulk of that story? Well: quotes by officials of the bus company, police department, and prosecutor's office deploring the poor driver's possession of a gun, promising an investigation, and assuring other would-be thugs that drivers are supposed to be unarmed.

Chicago, Ill. JAMES R. RUMBAUGH

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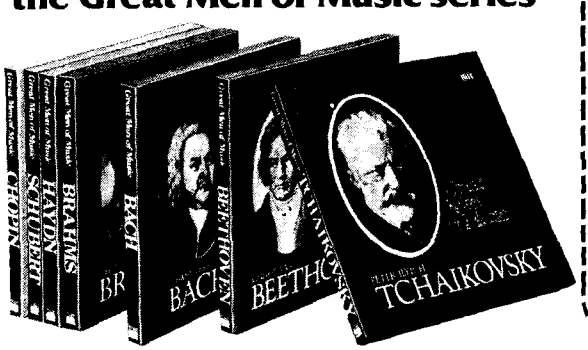

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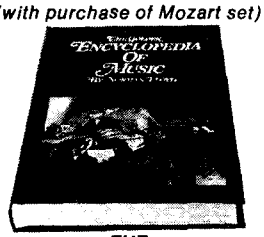

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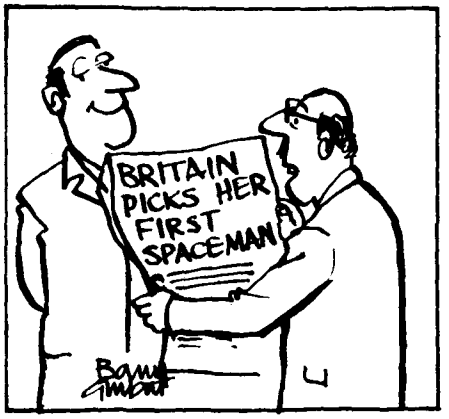
FOR THE RECORD

■ Mister In-Between in the Panama Canal controversy is Senate Minority Leader **Howard Baker**. . . . "He's squirming like a worm on a hot brick," comments Sen. **Jesse Helms** of North Carolina, who, with **Strom Thurmond** of South Carolina, is leading the anti-Treaty forces. . . . A *U.S. News* nose count shows 38 senators leaning toward the treaties, 31 leaning against, 31 undecided. Many of those 31 may follow Baker. . . . Baker himself says he hasn't made up his mind, and won't, until after the **Senate Foreign Relations hearings,** scheduled to start September 26. Baker professes to be worried about the big hoopla that accompanied the signing ceremony. By overplaying the ceremony, says Baker, **Jimmy Carter** may have hurt efforts to win approval in the Senate. . . . One plus and two minuses for the President: Archishop **Joseph Bernardin**, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, says the Catholic bishops will support the Treaty; but Sens. **Barry Goldwater** and **John Stennis** (he's chairman of the Armed Services Committee) have now joined the nay ranks. . . . Even Majority Leader **Robert Byrd** refuses to be committed. He, like Baker, says he'll wait for the hearings.

■ Facts & Figures Dept.: The new school year opened with 300,000 fewer Americans attending school this year than last (60.3 million as against 60.6 million), but HEW reports their education will cost **$12 billion more** than that of last year's crop. . . . If you think the rich don't pay their taxes, think again. The **Tax Foundation** reports that the top 10 per cent of U.S. taxpayers (earning $23,000 a year and up) paid nearly half of the $132.2 billion the Feds collected last year. . . . The incessant media and congressional attacks on the intelligence community have



Gurbutt Rotheo

"We could be the first country to have a strike in space."

resulted in a 50 per cent decrease in the amount of intelligence received by the **Secret Service** (that's the organization that protects the President), and the quality of that intelligence has dropped by 20 to 25 per cent, according to Secret Service Director **Knight**. . . . The *New England Journal of Medicine* reports that the single largest cause of death among young (25- to 34-year-old) **non-white males** in urban America is murder. In Cleveland, the test city, 344 of every 10,000 young blacks have died "of intentional violence."

■ On the cultural scene: Pocket Books is flooding the newsstands with *Washington: Behind Closed Doors*, the new name for **John Ehrlichman**'s *The Company*, the novel on which the ABC mini-series was based—somewhat. . . . **Arthur Schlesinger Jr.** embarks on a new venture next month: movie reviewer for *Saturday Review*. . . . The *Los Angeles Times* and the *Seattle Times*, following the lead of the *New York Times*, will (after current contracts expire) ban all further **hard core pornographic movie** advertising. "It has no redeeming value," comments *L.A. Times* editor **Otis Chandler**. . . . In India, 35 books have been published about **Mrs. Gandhi's** state of emergency since her fall, and another thirty are in the works. . . . In Paris, playwright **Jean Genet** has come out in favor of West German terrorists; he calls the latest kidnapping an "heroic event." . . . And *Paris Match* finds that the French favor continued use of the **guillotine** by 61 to 39 per cent.

■ Before making out next year's return take a look at *A Taxpayer's Guide to Survival: Constitutional Tax Limitations* (available from the National Tax-Limitation Committee, 7331 Morningside Drive, Loomis, California 95650, $1.95). It is authored by *NR*'s **William F. Rickenbacker**. . . . Young Americans for Freedom has filed an *amicus curiae* brief in **Bakke** Supreme Court case. . . . The **Conservative Party of New York** will stage its 15th anniversary dinner on October 14 (Americana Hotel, New York City), speakers **Barry Farber, Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** (for information write NYS Conservative Party, 468 Park Avenue South, NYC 10016). . . . And the indefatigable Rockford College Institute (**Leopold Tyrmand**) is bringing out *Chronicles of Culture*, a review of books that may not be reviewed elsewhere or that are widely reviewed from a liberal standpoint. The first issue, "The Feminine Novel of the Seventies," takes on recent novels by **Francine du Plessix Gray, Joan Didion, Lois Gould, Gael Greene.**

■ The most vicious attack yet on the Soviet dissidents was launched by KGB Chief **Yuri Andropov** a week ago. He stopped just short of calling them paid agents of the West. The occasion, a fitting one, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of **Felix Dzerzhinsky**, the very first Soviet Secret Police Chief.

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An OPEN LETTER To ALL PENSION FUND TRUSTEES

AS YOU KNOW, most pension funds managed by Big Banks have not performed too well for quite a number of years now. During the first quarter in particular, many of their Favorite Fifty "fell out of bed." Thus, more and more experts are pushing the "index funds" concept. They think your trust should settle for just keeping pace with the Standard & Poor's index of 500 stocks.

But this concept does not really work in your best interest. It's one thing when your pension fund or profit-sharing plan underperforms because of poor investment judgment. It's quite another when fiduciaries and professionals won't even try to preserve pensioners' capital should a bear market occur.

STOCKS DON'T ALWAYS RISE

And bear markets are not just a figment of "gloomers and doomers." Right now, for example, many responsible observers are seriously questioning whether commercial banks have made too many bad loans to unqualified borrowers at home and abroad. Thus, the risk of a capital-impaired banking system causing an economic dislocation that leads to a major market decline is real and substantial.

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THE WEEK

■ Le Ann Wilchusky despairs that Senator William Proxmire will ever develop an understanding of the finer things in life. He doesn't comprehend, she says, that "artists have to have the freedom to work outside the political context." What Senator Proxmire has done to inspire this attack is to give Miss Wilchusky his "Golden Fleece of the Month" award for having received a $6,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to film large rolls of crepe paper as they tumble to earth from planes.

■ As we go to press, it's not yet clear how the Bert Lance affair will terminate, but ABC is reportedly planning a six-part movie, tentatively called *Plains: Behind Closed Doors*.

■ In Washington on business, General Omar Torrijos gave a revealing interview to *U.S. News & World Report*. Is he offended at being called a dictator? "Not at all. When I hear about Torrijos the dictator, I say, 'Well, this isn't me.' I sleep in peace. I respect human dignity, and I would not stay in power against the will of my people. Actually," he added reflectively, "I myself have lost the most basic of individual freedoms—the right to walk down the street without being bothered. I can't do that because there is so much affection and because the people demand so much from me. They want me to be everywhere at once." He said that the Canal—which he calls "our principal natural resource"—is "as indefensible as a newborn baby. It cannot be defended against a large power, nor can it be defended against a single saboteur" (though he went on to say that he will protect the installations with "two hundred to three hundred bilingual policemen"). If it's so vulnerable, why should the Treaty bother giving the U.S. the legal power to try to defend it? "I keep asking myself that question."

■ Poor Bert; if only he'd handled the finances of the Cargo Preference Bill deal, he'd be all right.

■ In the race for mayor of New York, Act One is over, and the results are at least not too disturbing. The Democrats, in a demonstration of unexpected sobriety, chose a pair of moderate liberals, Congressman Ed Koch and New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo. In doing so, they rejected the ragged fiscal record of incombent Abraham Beanne, the noisy radical chic of Bella Abzug, and the minority-group specializing of Percy Sutton and Herman Badillo. Cuomo, who also has the Liberal Party endorsement, and Koch now meet in a runoff September 19 to determine who will oppose Republican Roy Goodman, which means essentially who will be the next mayor. Goodman defeated Conservative Party nominee Barry Farber in the Republican primary, but he would need an act of God to win the general election, particularly with Farber still in the running on the Conservative Party line. As a rule, not even sober Democrats vote for Republicans in New York, where the Democratic registration advantage is 8 to 1. But at least the dreariest as well as the absurdist candidates have been eliminated. Now on to Act Two.

■ On the other hand, if Lance had handled the cargo preference deal as well as he's handled everything else, *we'd* be all right.

■ BOYS WILL BE BOYS. The *New York Times* reports that when police in Bayside, Queens investigated a voting machine that seemed to be acting oddly during the first round of the New York mayoralty elections they found that it contained ninety votes for Percy Sutton, the only black candidate for mayor—and none for anyone else. "This was considered most unusual," says the *Times*, "in the heavily white district."

■ What are we bid for this beautiful used halo?

■ Gordon Liddy is finally free, still mum about his part in the Watergate break-in, except that he says he'd do it again if his President asked him. Though most everybody, including that President, agrees that Liddy is nuts, it must be recorded that he took the rap, refused to pass the buck, and—a legal pauper—has no plans to write his memoirs. Call it nuts with honor.

■ The General Assembly of the World Psychiatric Association supported, in a cliff-hanger, a British motion

Jacob Javits, Mr. Republican

In this, the summer when the GOP
Draws sympathy from only one in four,
Republicans have handed him the key
To plot the party's economic core.
Thus armed, our solons on the Senate floor
Will signal our "alternative approach,"
While in the boonies, crying, *All ashore!*
The party workers register reproach.
For twenty years, his passion's been to poach
On issues that the liberals espouse.
Myself, I've always viewed him as a roach,
But now we follow like a herd of cows.
So, shall we march to Jacob Javits' drum?
I won't, nor will my sister or my mum.

W. H. VON DREELE

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The above list of contents is by the limitation of space just a mere summation. The actual content of *Gray's Anatomy* is so massive that the table of contents in the book needs 16 entire pages with 1,932 separate category entries. And the index of this masterwork covers 41 pages with 8,541 separate listings.

Again, as Dr. Crocco states, "There have been many imitations, there have been anatomical narratives, dissection manuals and pictorial atlases with exquisite photographs. However, there is only one *Gray's Anatomy*. *Gray's* is the book all students turn to."

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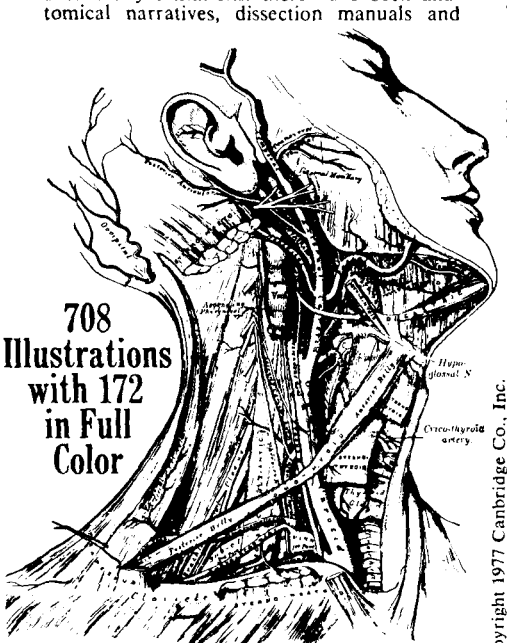

Fig. 283—Surgical anatomy of the arteries of the neck, showing the carotid and subclavian arteries.

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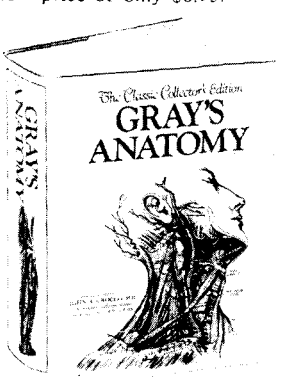

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

This is how Richard Reeves begins the first of his splendid columns on the media for *Esquire*: "In Jeb Magruder's Watergate book one line of the acknowledgment reads: 'I would also like to thank Patrick Anderson for his valuable advice and assistance on this book.' That was one of the three sentences in the book that Magruder wrote himself."

Reeves's subject is ghost-writing, and in Washington today ghost-writing is the hottest of the new growth industries. Unlike members of the Redskins, ghosts have not yet begun to demand million-dollar, no-cut contracts. But the fees are definitely rising. A few years back, a freelance ghost could expect about $300 for a speech, twice as much for an article, and perhaps $7,000 or $8,000 for a quick book. Today a good ghost can ask and get $1,000 for a speech, three times that for a well done article. And for a book, the sky is rapidly becoming the limit.

That's not to say that ghosts themselves are generally willing to push against that limit. They are, despite their best instincts, literary people, and literary people tend to be a bit unworldly about things like money. But as Reeves points out, the backwash from Watergate and the rise of celebrity publishing has pushed the figures so far up that even unworldly literary types can't help but see the dollar signs. The best of the Watergate books, John Dean's *Blind Ambition*, was good primarily because John Dean didn't write it. The author was Taylor Branch, a Washington journalist, who did the job for a piddling $20,000. But Dean has cleaned up on Branch's work, and today even the most self-effacing ghost wouldn't touch the same job for less than $50,000. There are signs that the $100,000 ghost-written book will soon be common as the $100,000 home.

Just consider the opportunities. Gerald Ford is writing a book. Mrs. Ford is writing a book. Richard Nixon is writing a book. A gaggle of senators, once and future Cabinet members, and would-be Presidents are writing books. But that doesn't mean these people are actually writing anything. They can't. Most of them have trouble signing checks. What it does mean, however, is that they are all shopping around for someone to write their books for them.

A few people are unfair to ghosts. The word is, for instance, that Henry Kissinger, meanly, will write his own book, all by himself. And there are a few others—Eugene McCarthy, for one—who still seem to know what they think and insist on telling us about it with no help from ghost-thinkers. But these are rare birds. They are getting rarer, and the omens for aspiring ghosts have never been more auspicious. It is, in fact, the best of times. Everyone wants to write a book, and fewer and fewer people have anything to say or know how to say those few things they have a handle on. Just imagine. Even Dan Rather, a professional journalist, hired a ghost-writer to expedite his book. Delicious.

A few killjoys still question the whole business. A while back one of them showed this writer a quotation from Walter Lippmann. The subject was speechwriting, but my acquaintance, a gloomy and moralistic sort of chap, insists that it applies to ghost-writing in general. Said Lippmann: "A public man can and needs to be supplied with material advice in preparing an important address. But no one can write an authentic speech for another man; it is as impossible as writing his love letter for him or saying his prayers for him. When he speaks to the people, he and not someone else must speak. . . . The truth is that anyone who knows what he is doing can say what he is doing, and anyone who knows what he thinks can say what he thinks. Those who cannot speak for themselves, are, with very few exceptions, not very sure of what they are doing and what they mean. The sooner they are found out the better."

Now that sort of thing makes a good ghost's flesh creep. Fortunately, however, there aren't many Lippmanns left saying such gloomy things. So if your son wants to be a ghost-writer, send him to Washington. He doesn't need much equipment. If he passed freshman composition, can write without licking the tip of his pencil, and can read a newspaper without moving his lips, he's probably got what it takes. He'll have to learn how to type, of course, but that's about it. Tell him not to clutter up his mind with principles. There are big bucks in those books, and the less you think, the easier it is to write them.

—CATO

---

to censure psychiatric practices in the Soviet Union. The Soviets, see, have this habit of throwing dissidents into madhouses, there to be subjected to a variety of shock and drug treatments, a position that has a certain internal consistency—if you resist the Workers' Paradise, even after living in it, then surely you must be mad—which no doubt explains why the vote to condemn was only 90 to 88. An American motion, opposing "misuse of psychiatric skills . . . wherever it occurs," was more easily passed, 121 to 66. Dr. Eduard Babayan, Soviet delegate to the General Assembly, called the accusations "slander."

■ Bring back Rebozo!

■ The official word in Uganda was that President Amin was in a "coma" after surgery. Alas, no such luck. Apparently the wily dictator was playing possum to escape the opprobrium of Moslem leaders who charged that the 16 public executions he had scheduled would defile the holy month of Ramadan. Wouldn't it have been simpler, though, just to tell them he couldn't let them impose their private morality on the rest of society?

■ The Administration's strategy on the Panama Canal, insiders are saying, is to give Torrijos the legal title to it, then have Bert Lance borrow it back.

■ Ah, the Good Life: for those who cannot locate it here, try Swedish prisons where it apparently exists in abundance. According to the *New York Times*, prisoners have benefits that would make even Jay Gatsby look twice: three-day furloughs every month; rooms (never "cells") resembling university dormitories; wages competitive with the outside labor market; sauna baths, swimming pool, and golf driving range. But, alas, all

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The book every beer lover should have on tap.

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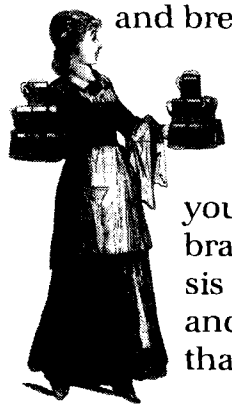

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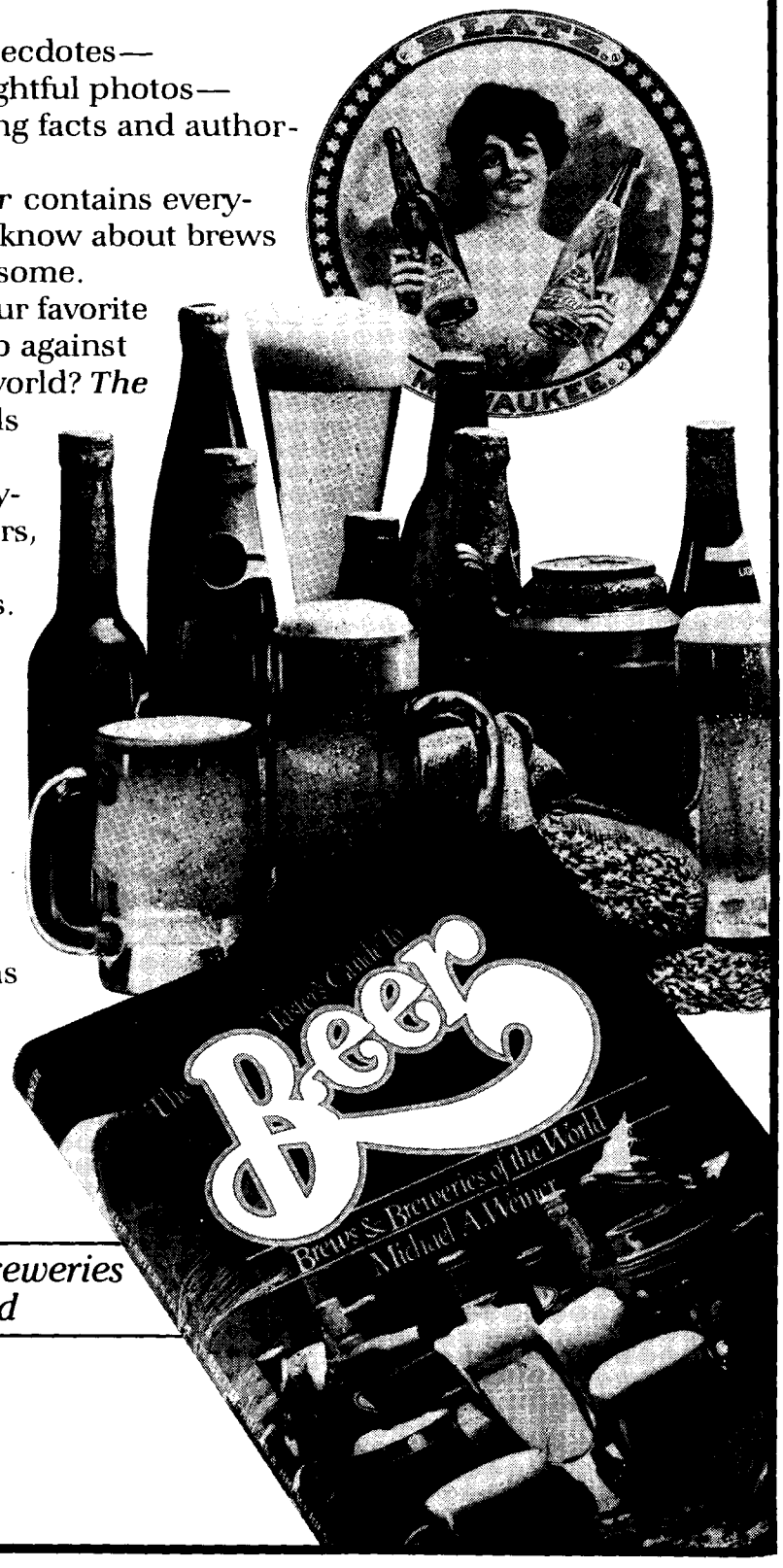
The Taster's Guide to Beer. It's almost as enjoyable as a tall beer on a hot summer's day.



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MACMILLAN

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The Apples of Virginia

Like apples everywhere, you've got
To pick the things before they rot,
But finding pickers is a chore,
Since picking apples is a bore.
In desperation (and great cost),
Virginia apple growers crossed
To Kingston, where the folks don't sneeze
At picking apples down from trees.
They paid their airfare from abroad;
They paid each picker's room and board.
As for our native unemployed,
They do not choose to fill the void.

W. H. VON DREELE

this seems to have done nothing to rehabilitate criminals, since the recidivist rate is over 70 per cent. As one convict, who is now serving his eighth or ninth sentence—he can't remember precisely—put it: "The living conditions in our prisons are quite acceptable and certainly no deterrent to crime."

■ Ever since the opening of China by President Nixon, intellectuals and journalists have thronged along the pilgrim paths to Peking and Shanghai, inhaling the air of the "new China." All uncritically we have had the supposed achievements of Maoism thrown at us. Indeed, Chic Chinois has been one of the most exotic forms of liberal political chic. But the bubble had to burst and Belgian Orientalist Simon Leys has punctured it with his book, *Chinese Shadows*, originally written in 1974 and now available in English. Judging from the prestigious and highly favorable reviews, the bubble has not only been punctured, it has splattered. It does the heart good to read Mr. Leys's judgment written in—of all places—*The New York Review of Books*: ". . . despite all it has done, the name of the regime [Maoism] will also be linked with the outrage it inflicted on a cultural legacy of all mankind: the destruction of the city of Peking." Or to read John K. Fairbank in the *New York Times* saying that "*Chinese Shadows* is a brilliant polemic that . . . in 1974 . . . blew the whistle on French adulation of Mao and may have a similar effect here." The book is worth reading for its own merit. But Simon Leys is storing up even greater merit for his role in restoring realism to the art of judging Mao's China.

■ THEY MAY NOT CARE BEANS ABOUT VANCE, BUT THEY SURE WANT OUR HARDWARE, DEPT.: In a quiet weekend memorandum, Defense Secretary Harold Brown approved policies which will make it easier for the Communist Chinese to purchase sensitive military technology. While keeping the means of production under wraps, the Brown proposals would allow Peking to obtain such end products as jet engines, airframes, instruments, and electronic devices. The memorandum is based on an earlier report which recommended that the U.S. simultaneously cut the flow of technical expertise to the Soviet Union. Brown's release coincides with the visit to this country of an eager Chinese trade delegation. As the Great Helmsman said, "China will continue to be self-reliant; however, China must let foreign things serve China."

■ REPRESSION, U.S.A.: California's Governor Jerry Brown has signed a law banning the issuance of licenses for homosexual marriages. The state's gays will have to go on cohabiting without benefit of clergy, but its door-to-door salesmen will be spared the embarrassment of having to ask, "Which one of you is *Mrs.* Jones?"

■ "Of *course* I'm still proud of you, Bert, but don't you see, I just *can't* pardon you."

■ Here is Diane Johnson, in the *New York Times Book Review*, praising Don DeLillo's *Players*: "This elegant, highly finished novel does not shrink from suggesting the complicity of Americans with the terrorists they deplore." Time we officially recognized the arrival of a minor literary genre: the *j'accuse*—the violent comprehensive charge, paradoxical enough to sound inspired, and general enough not to be refutable (or legally actionable). Susan Sontag's famous aphorism of a decade ago ("The white race is the cancer of history") set the tone. The *j'accuse* is the product of mass communications, which feed on violence of act and of utterance in that odd impersonal language that is not about, or addressed to, anyone in particular. Abstract sensation is the name of the game. Keep 'em coming, Diane.

■ Let's not lose our perspective on this thing. It didn't start with Calhoun First National.

Yes to the Future

In an important article in *Fortune* (Sept. 1977), Professor Everett Ladd Jr. of the University of Connecticut reaches somber conclusions about the health of the Republican Party. A few representative excerpts:

"The important question is: Which way are things trending? For the Republicans during this past decade and a half, they have been trending downward—so steeply, in fact, that by now the trend has begun to reshape U.S. political life as a whole . . . By all measures, the Republicans of the 1940s and 1950s were the second party, to be sure, but one capable of seizing power at all levels of government at any time. For the political system as a whole as well as for the party itself, the really important erosion of Republican strength is the one that has taken place during the 1960s and 1970s . . . Outside the South, the Republicans have lost an enormous amount of ground over the last decade and

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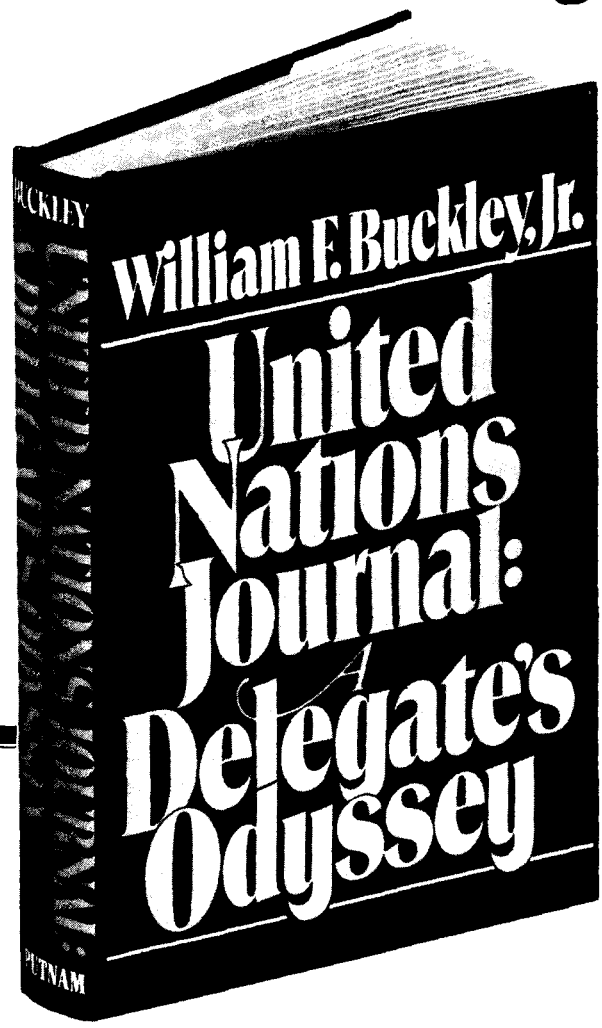
It Didn't Start with Andrew Young

***Here's a book that will explain to you (as only Bill Buckley can explain it!) why the U.S.'s "outspoken" new UN Ambassador may well be the perfect man for the job! (Get your copy now — while our small supply lasts — and* SAVE A FULL $5.00!)**



If you think the attitude of our present Ambassador to the United Nations is something new (and/or embarassing) then by all means get your hands on a copy of Bill Buckley's "United Nations Journal: A Delegate's Odyssey."

This fascinating book, a behind-the-scenes look at what the UN is *really* like, shows you why Andrew Young should feel right at home in the Tower of Babel by the East River.

Buckley paints a picture of an organization almost out of control, choking on its own verbiage, ignoring major problems while going on endlessly about relatively minor matters -- e.g., Jimmy Carter's new concern for Human Rights (*Buckley's* special concern while at the UN), is promoted on paper but little or nothing is actually done to guarantee them. At the same time, by a sort of "gentlemen's agreement," not a word is said about flagrant Soviet violations (sound familiar?). And bureaucratic shackles make sure that no one rocks the boat. When Buckley suggested, for example, that Solzhenitsyn be invited to address the General Assembly, he was told it would *take five years to complete the necessary preparation!*

Indeed, this intriguing book takes you on a first-class guided tour of an organization Alice might have found harder to explain than Wonderland. What goes on daily at the UN may almost defy belief but, if only in self-defense, every concerned (and informed) American ought to know about it.

Now, you can get your own copy of this exceptional book for just $2.95 (retails for $7.95). Here's how. Simply renew your current subscription to National Review (new orders are fine too!) for a full year at no more than the regular $19 rate; you pay only $2.95 for the book, or $21.95 in all, saving you $5.00 on the purchase price of the book. Just fill out and mail the handy reply card opposite this page, today, and we'll take care of all the details for you (including postage and handling).

"Tart, funny, Buckley at his best . . . It should be read by everyone."
-- *The Wall Street Journal*

"What prompted William F. Buckley, Jr., to accept an assignment as a representative of the United States to the United Nations? Pure, undiluted Walter Mittyism,' he confesses, and his fantasy that he would hold the delegates 'spellbound as I read to them from Solzhenitsyn, as I described the latest account of concentration camps in Mainland China, as I pleaded the case of the ballet dancer Panov.' Buckley's stay at the United Nations did not produce such scenes. What it produced instead was his *United Nations Journal*, "the most delightfully interesting civics book in a long time, and probably the first.' "
-- *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*

"Thoroughly readable, perceptive, and highly informative."
-- *The San Diego Union*

"A very enlightening view of the world's most expensive debating society."
-- *The San Diego Union*

"His salty, stylish observations of United Nations life provide a refreshing insight into an often misunderstood institution."
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"More constructive comments of the United Nations than can be found in 1,000 U.N. speeches."
-- *Sunday Oklahoman*

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a half . . . For a quarter-century, the Democrats have held a majority in both houses of Congress, and Republican leaders no longer even suggest that their party might turn the tables . . . The narrow base of the GOP is also reflected in its poor showing among . . . important groups. Catholics and Jews are grossly under-represented in its ranks. To a striking extent, the Republicans have become a party of Northern white Protestants . . . This WASPish image, and the reality it reflects, has seriously weakened the Republicans' ability to recruit in an ethnically diverse society . . . The protesting lower middle class may well be the natural constituency of the GOP—but if so, these voters don't yet know it. Today the constituents [Kevin] Phillips saw as building blocks of a new Republican majority remain solidly Democratic."

Professor Ladd's description cannot be quarreled with. He assesses correctly Republican weakness among a variety of constituencies, a weakness manifest virtually across the board. He does not, however, address himself to issues—and it is on key issues that the present Democratic coalition is immensely vulnerable.

The party of optimism has always been the dominant party in American politics. In the period following the Civil War, the Republicans were the party of industrial growth and the great thrust Westward. After 1929, the Democrats seized the high ground: we had nothing to fear but fear itself, we were the Arsenal of Democracy, we would create fifty million jobs, we would put a man on the moon.

Today, however, an important, perhaps the dominant, wing of the Democratic Party is saying no to the future: no to American power in the world, no to advanced technology, no to advanced new weapons, no to economic growth, no, many of them, to children. The Carter energy program in both substance and symbolism reflects this profound negativism. It is almost entirely a negative program of conservation—of using less, not creating more—and doubtless reflects the puritanism of both Carter himself and his energy czar James Schlesinger.

But everyone knows that an expanding economy will require more energy and not less. Why are the Republicans not attacking this negative program from the rooftops? Surely we should be moving ahead with atomic energy. Surely we should be pressing forward to control the hydrogen fusion reaction. Scientists at Los Alamos have now created the first geothermal well, pumping water through deep shafts to tap the heat of the earth's interior. Should we not be pressing relentlessly ahead in this and other areas?

The profound negativism of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party is alien to the American tradition. The Democratic coalition could be split like a coconut on these issues. The Republicans, if they presented themselves as the party of growth, optimism, and expanding possibility could surely seize the high ground from the present deeply divided and artificial Democratic coalition.

Oh Dear, Oh Dear

Pakistan will get its A-plant
From the chauvinistic French.
Begin's frontier towns are booming.
At the OMB, there's stench.
Reagan's marshaling his forces
For the ditch "we bought and own."
China's Teng's not being helpful,
While the market's lost its tone.
It's an eon from those moments
People called him Jimmy Who?
But at least he isn't rapping
With the editors of *Screw*.

W. H. VON DREELE

Camp of the Saints

In *Camp of the Saints*, prize-winning French novelist Jean Raspail projects a chilling scenario. A million desperate poor people from Calcutta launch forth on a rickety fleet of tramp steamers and head for the southern coast of France. The issue is clear, and a billion Third World eyes are watching as the flotilla winds its way northward. Will the French actually submit to this "peaceful" invasion? Or will they have the courage to turn back the ragged horde and preserve their civilization? In Raspail's novel, the horde lands, millions more will be coming, and France goes under.

The United States at the present time is being quietly invaded from the south in a virtual *reconquista*. Across a highly porous border an estimated ten million or more illegal aliens have already moved into this country, and the flow shows every sign of increasing. Mexico is an economic basket case, its population growth out of control, unemployment soaring. Tens of thousands of potential illegal immigrants are reported to be waiting south of the border to take advantage of Carter's amnesty proposal, should it be enacted by Congress.

The U.S. necessity is obvious. This nation must gain control of its demographic fate. And an effective approach will necessarily involve several elements.

Though a border and coastline stretching from Florida to the Pacific probably cannot be totally sealed, the combination of a strengthened border patrol and modern technology can drastically reduce the odds on successful illegal entry.

At the present time, strong economic incentives exist for hiring illegal aliens. Such incentives should be countered by stiff legal penalties.

A third measure will go against the libertarian grain.

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Nevertheless, it would seem desirable that a national identity card system be established. The technology exists that would make it next to impossible to forge such cards; a card would be a precondition for employment and perhaps for other pursuits. Such an identity card system might also prove useful as an anti-terrorist measure.

So far both the White House and the Congress have failed to face up to the illegal alien issue, and the measures proposed by the Administration are wholly inadequate to the requirements of the situation.

The $49.50 Cruise Missile and Another Moratorium

If President Carter gave up the B-1 bomber for nothing more than a cruise missile so short-legged that it can only go 1,500 miles when air-launched and 360 miles when launched from sea or land, then he has given up the equivalent of the fast-breeder reactor for a gasoline tax (and he seems to be doing that too). Yet, we read that apparently the Department of State had *already* proposed these range limits to the USSR in May—before the B-1 decision was announced. There is some logic to choosing a cheaper, faster, more accurate cruise missile over an enormously expensive, new intercontinental bomber—provided it will do equivalent work. But that is not true of a 1,500-mile missile, which could just barely make it to Moscow if launched from the air over West Germany.

The Pentagon is said to want an 1,800-mile cruise missile, no doubt with good reason. But even this slightly expanded range reveals the narrow bookkeeping mentality that underlies our arms strategy—or lack of strategy. We persist in regarding weapons simply as toys to be piled up and measured by their cumulative "throw-weight" or range. Why should the cruise missile not be built to attain ranges necessary to reach the targets we might want to hit from the places we might want to launch them from? A long-range missile creates no more destruction than a short-range one. And what could be more risky that building such arbitrary range limitations into an agreement to be negotiated with the USSR? We would no doubt adhere to the terms, but would they? We have proposed inspection to the USSR since the days of the famous Baruch Plan for control of nuclear weapons just after the war. The answer has always been and continues to be No.

And for good reason. It is behind their shield of secrecy (which an open society cannot emulate) that the Soviets seek to gain advantage, as they did in 1961. Remember the three-year test-ban moratorium from 1958 to 1961? Remember how the USSR suddenly and without warning terminated the moratorium with the most violent series of nuclear explosions in history? Remember what President Kennedy said on March 2, 1962? "We know enough now about broken negotiations, secret preparations, and the advantages gained from a long test series never to offer again an uninspected moratorium." (If you've forgotten, see *NR*, July 8, 1977 for Cohen and Van Cleave's discussion.)

Now the Administration is considering what is tantamount to a new moratorium when the SALT I agreement expires October 3. We might make a unilateral statement of our intention to continue adhering to the SALT I limits and the Russians might or might not make a similar one. Our capacity for self-deception seems bottomless. And what is at the root of it is that we simply don't want to face up to developing a real strategy, a war strategy. Our only strategy now is to avoid war or to deter war, or if all else fails to launch everything we have in one big "mutually assured destruction." This is called MAD and it is. The results are clear.

In a recent study prepared in the Library of Congress, James M. Collins, a senior defense expert, formerly a director of military strategic studies at the National War College, concludes that the U.S. concept of MAD, which depends for its validity on genuine mutuality, "seems much less mutual than it did in 1970. U.S. conventional [military] capabilities have also faded, in comparison with those of the Soviet Union. . . ." Collins does not recommend simply more arms. He believes "our problems will remain as long as U.S. decision-makers bank on bigger defense budgets to cure defense ills, without reference to better strategy. . . . Interrelationships with enemy systems commonly get short shrift, except for matching counts with Moscow."

A similar conclusion is reached by R. J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii, who presented it to the International Studies Association in St. Louis last March. Noting the decline in the U.S. position in strategic and conventional forces relative to the USSR, he emphasized "the difference in American and Soviet strategic doctrines. Operating under a doctrine of minimum deterrence, first officially stated in 1965 by then-Secretary of Defense McNamara, the U.S. achieved a presumed deterrent level of ICBMs, SSBNs, and SLBMs (in 1967) and locked itself in at those levels from then on . . ."

And now will it be the 1,500-mile cruise missile under an uninspected new moratorium on SALT?

Teddy Bared

Senator Kennedy has introduced a bill which would keep major oil companies out of the coal and uranium business. A Kennedy amendment with a similar purpose, however, has already been wisely and decisively defeated on the Senate floor. Despite the evident importance of such "horizontal divestiture," the issue has received scant

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attention in the media. A rare AP wire story on "Energy Megamonopolies" said that oil companies "supply about one-fifth of U.S. coal production" and constitute one-fifth of the firms "involved in the mining of or exploration of uranium." A fifth of a market, or of the number of firms, is hardly a monopoly, and the charge looks even sillier when you look behind the totals. The oil companies most deeply involved in coal are Conoco and Occidental. The oil companies most deeply involved in uranium are Kerr-McGee and ARCO. Occidental and Kerr-McGee would remain untouched by the Kennedy bill, since they are far from "major" oil producers.

Conoco produces about 2 per cent of the nation's domestic oil and gas (not counting imports) and 7 per cent of the nation's coal. If Conoco restricted coal production in order to boost the demand for oil, it would obviously lose a lot of money and its competitors in both oil and coal would benefit. If forced to sell its coal operations, its only buyers would probably be existing coal companies—which would reduce the number of competitors in coal. The same arguments apply to ARCO's small piece of the hundred-firm uranium business.

The evidence is conclusive that domestic oil producers do not have anything like a monopoly in any aspect of oil or gas production and distribution, which is why the idea of vertical divestiture died. Horizontal divestiture assumes that a company that has no monopoly in oil, coal, or uranium can somehow attain the monopoly power by operating in two or three of these vigorously competitive portions of the energy market. It is a fundamentally foolish idea with no basis in fact or theory, but so long as it hangs around in congressional and presidential speeches, the threat will continue to discourage needed investment in all forms of domestic energy. Score one more victory for the Arabs.

Three Crises

Teenage unemployment and falling farm incomes are two of this season's most popular excuses for adding millions to the public payroll and subtracting billions from the public purse. As usual, the nature of these supposed crises is quite different from what the government-media complex would have you believe.

At mid-year, 69 per cent of the teenage unemployed have been out of work less than five weeks. The number of "discouraged" teenagers, who were not even looking for work because they could not find a job, was 58,000 (out of a population of 17 million). For this "crisis" the Administration is designing a billion-dollar program to supply another 200,000 taxpayer-financed jobs for teenagers, while Congress is seriously considering raising the job-destroying minimum wage at double-digit rates for each of the next three years.

Grain prices have declined recently, inspiring a return to multi-billion-dollar price supports, government grain surpluses, export subsidies, and paying farmers not to farm. But revenue equals price times quantity, and grain prices are a cost to livestock producers, so that farm income per farm was actually 26 per cent higher in the first half of this year than in the last half of last year. Even before that rise, the average family income of farmers was $19,059 in 1976, and the largest 5.6 per cent of all farms (with an average income of $69,026) got 36.5 per cent of the government subsidies. For this "crisis" we are being asked to pay higher taxes so that we can enjoy higher food prices.

There is one crisis, related to the other two, that is a far more genuine threat to prosperity. Federal tax collections are rising at the rate of almost 15 per cent a year, sapping the strength of the productive private economy, and massive federal borrowing is driving interest rates up and encouraging inflationary monetary policies. If we keep throwing tax dollars at isolated short-term problems of income and employment, while trying to somehow improve incomes by arbitrarily raising the price of labor and food, we will surely find ourselves with a much more widespread, long-term problem of stagnant real income and employment.

The Japanese Solution?

We are indebted to Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping for a fuller exposition of the state of play in the "normalization" game than we would have had without his help. Not only did we learn that the Secretary of State offered, and the Chinese refused, a proposal to raise our liaison office in Peking to an embassy while lowering our embassy in Taipei to a liaison office, but Mr. Teng also managed to smoke out a statement from former President Ford acknowledging that he had indeed discussed the "Japanese solution" during his visit to Peking.

Since the "Japanese solution" would downgrade our ties with Taipei further than the Vance proposal, the latter would appear, on its face, to represent a slight stiffening of the U.S. position, and certainly Mr. Teng seems to think so. But more important than the details of either proposal is the psycho-political effect on Taiwan of this public exposure of how far the U.S. has moved toward what is euphemistically called "normalization." The effects probably will emerge slowly, however, given Taiwan's great stability and prosperity—which might well be envied by most of the Third World. One interesting twist is the suggestion by the large Taiwan Presbyterian Church that Taiwan become independent—something that has always been anathema to the Chinese leadership there.

Meanwhile, the question keeps returning—why is it

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so urgent for the U.S. to do anything? If Peking had its own reasons—including the confrontation with the USSR—for establishing the present link with the United States, then those same reasons should suffice to cause Peking to maintain the link. There is no need for the U.S. to run after the Chinese. If Peking should re-appraise its interests and decide the link with the U.S. is no longer necessary, the break will come anyway, based on other factors, not on U.S. relations with Taiwan, which after all were not sufficient to deter Peking from establishing the original link to the U.S.

"Normalization" is a deceptive word for what would be a political shift of earthquake proportions for the position of the U.S. in the Far East and the world. It is not something to be undertaken for less than benefits of an equal weight—and certainly not just to sweeten up a communiqué after an official visit. Thank you, Mr. Teng.

Parting Company

Paul Johnson, a member of the Labor Party for 24 years and editor of the *New Statesman* from 1965 until his resignation in 1970, has now used the pages of the *New Statesman* to tender another resignation: from the Labor Party. Johnson joined the Labor Party at the time of the great debates between Aneurin Bevan and Hugh Gaitskell, a time when, he says, the Labor Party stood for freedom and individuality. But then the party began to go wrong: in the spring of 1969, "the Wilson government and (as later events showed) Wilson himself were broken on the wheel of trade union power," when his labor-reform bill was scuttled by the Trades Union Congress. Wilson, Johnson believes, "with all his faults, once had liberal roots, a perky individualistic spirit of his own, and a genuine reluctance to see people pushed around." He just wasn't "prepared to meet a Waterloo twice," and so he turned the party over to a man—James Callaghan—who is capable of saying: " 'Liberty, in my view, is conforming to majority opinion.' "

Thus the new shape of things in Britain. Collectivism is much easier to manage than diversity, and nowhere near as messy. So the self-employed must be taxed out of existence, workers must be forced to join closed-shop unions, journalists—even playwrights and composers—must be turned into trade unionists. This is the Labor Party that Johnson has turned his back on—or, rather, that has turned its back on him, for Labor was born "in the outraged protest" against the very collectivism that it now espouses.

"As Labor has drifted into collectivism," Johnson concludes, "I have come to appreciate, perhaps for the first time in my life, the overwhelming strength of my own attachment to the individual spirit. . . . The individual conscience is the most precious gift humanity possesses. A political creed which respects it—whatever evil it may otherwise do or stand for—is inherently healthy, for it contains within it a self-correcting mechanism. But in a system of belief where conscience is collectivized, there is no dependable barrier along the highway which ultimately may lead to Auschwitz and Gulag. I do not intend to travel even one miserable inch along that fearful road."

Ave, frater.

George S. Schuyler, R I P

George Schuyler was a prominent Negro (as he'd have preferred to be designated) writer who astonished a great many people by his shift to conservatism a generation ago. He began a socialist of sorts, who wrote with

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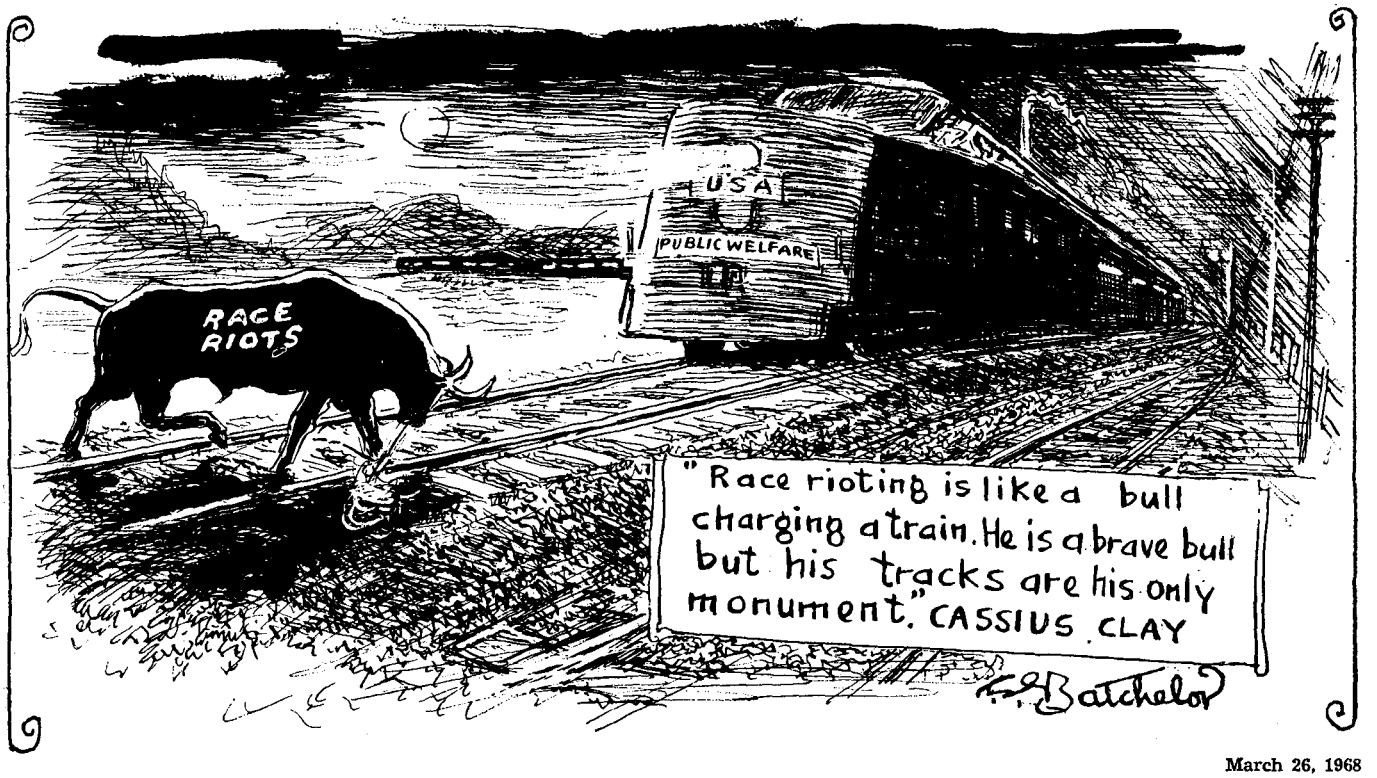
RACE RIOTS
USA
PUBLIC WELFARE
"Race rioting is like a bull charging a train. He is a brave bull but his tracks are his only monument." CASSIUS CLAY
C.D. Batchelor

March 26, 1968

wit and pungency, attracting the attention of H. L. Mencken, who published him. In due course he drifted away from the civil rights leaders with whom he was once associated, stressing that the need of American Negroes was further acculturation, and the maximization of opportunities at hand. He married a white woman from Houston, Texas, and their daughter Philippa Schuyler was a concert pianist who was killed in Vietnam in a helicopter crash during a tour performing for U.S. troops. Her mother, who never recovered from the shock of her daughter's death, in due course committed suicide; and George Schuyler, once so gregarious, sharp, tough-minded, receded from public view, dying a lonely man last week at 82. George Schuyler was a friend of this journal; he attended its fifth anniversary celebration, sitting at the dais and moving easily among old friends, left and right. He showed the distinctive courage of a man cast in one ideological mold who broke loose from it, recognizing in America the abundance of opportunities which he himself took in advancing his professional career.

C. D. Batchelor, R I P

For a not inconsiderable stretch of time, C. D. Batchelor was the most famous cartoonist in America. His lush Victorian style is shown in the accompanying cartoon, one of the last he did for us. It exactly expressed his courtly ways (including five wives), his lack of meanness, his grand understanding of America's role in the world (his first political contribution was $5 to General Botha during the Boer War). When NATIONAL REVIEW began publishing, we were impoverished then as now but with this difference, that we began with a subscription list of only three thousand readers. C. D. Batchelor, then riding high as the daily cartoonist for the *New York Daily News*, came to us to ask if he might draw for us. Then every week, for over ten years until his retirement, he would arrive on Tuesdays, always with a different walking stick (his collection ran to the hundreds), and at least 25 "roughs"—penciled sketches, from which we would select the cartoon of the week. When he left us, forlornly because he could not take more routine, he went off as if to die. Instead he lived nine happy years, and every month or two we would receive a warm note from him, always illustrated, and usually signed with a facsimile of his noble face. Our sympathies to Mrs. Batchelor, and a farewell to a lovely man and beloved colleague.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:
Thank you for your letter of August 22, 1977.
The reason we initially canceled your magazine was

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because a reactionary, right-wing, penny-pinching government was elected in our province (the British Columbia Social Credit Party, to whom I believe you spoke a few months back when you toured Vancouver). We have been forced to use the unsavory services of various left-wingers and Wobblies to put pressure on administration officials to reinstate the NATIONAL REVIEW.

This letter is to inform you that, although we pig-eyed intellectual stooges of Moscow will stand you up against the wall and make you eat your articles when the revolution comes, we still realize the value of your magazine as essential to any scholastic library.

Our mailing address still remains:

The Library
Selkirk College
Castlegar, B.C.
Canada

Fraternally yours,
M. V. Kinakin
Periodicals Clerk

Thank you. When you take over, articles are all that will be available to eat. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Intelligent Bill:

By God, sir, you have done it. Renewed my faith in the exiguous degree of fallibility in that latter-day and near-quintessential tool, the computer.

Having long ago been almost reduced to a two-legged printout by the monster, it is enjoyable now and then to see the rascal boot one. And so it did, in placing me on its list of Intelligent Americans.

The definition presumes sound judgment. I must demur, having only recently:

1. Helped advance Watergate by voting against McGovern.

2. Naïvely accepted a broker's recommendation that "Real Estate Investment Trusts should be in every portfolio."

3. Proclaimed that "The Episcopal Church will never be foolish enough to revise the Book of Common Prayer."

Take me off the list for now. There may be better days ahead.

Cordially,
Wm. R. Gorman
High Point, N.C.

Dear Mr. Gorman: We said you were intelligent, and we are not used to being contradicted. —WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I read, with religious habitualness, "Notes & Asides," and was struck by your answer [Aug. 19] to Dr. Andor C. Klay. In part:

"As for Antigone, she hated her brother Polynices, whence the term antagonistic. . . ." I looked at that, then stared at it, then became befuddled; something had to be wrong here.

It was a few days later that the jape broke upon me —and I was furious at not having caught onto it in the first place. But maybe that's the best kind of joke: the kind with a slow-burning fuse. Besides, it's rumored that we English do have a dilatory sense of humor.

Incidentally, *NR* is simply getting better and better. It measures up to Mr. Chips's "sense of proportion"— and, might I add, despite world tragedies, to his sense of humor. *Haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

Yours faithfully,
Rev. Dennis P. Lyden
English Department
St. John Vianney Seminary
Bloomingdale, Ohio

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Since late January, I have wanted to ask this question in public: What is the legal significance of President James Earl Carter's use of the diminutive, Jimmie, in taking oaths and in signing various and assorted orders and legislation?

If one's given or Christian name is James, and if this given or Christian name is presumed to be one's legal name, are the sundry oaths, orders, and legislation rendered null and void if they are executed under the diminutive?

I was interested to note—by squinting at the television screen—that Mr. Carter's Internal Revenue forms bore the name James. No sign of the diminutive when Mr. Carter stood before the IRS.

Again—why James before the IRS and Jimmie before the oath-administering justice (Justice?)?

Could this mean that James Earl really and legally is not the President?

All who bear the name of James eagerly await your reply.

Sincerely,
James E. Twyman
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Twyman: We have referred your inquiry to Mr. James Durante. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Have just read where you are supporting the Genocide Bill. Cannot understand you. Whose side are you on. The U.S.A. or the Soviet Union?

Joseph W. Flanagan
Pompano Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Flanagan: A hell of a question! Give me a while to think about it, maybe talk it over with the editors. Cordially, —WFB

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Socialism with A Southern Face

JAMES BURNHAM

I WANT MY DESCRIPTION to be literal and untinged. Resort X encompasses 1,799 acres of land; several miles of its boundary are shoreline of a 10,000-acre lake. There is no other resort, no commercial or industrial establishment, and only a few scattered small farms and houses—not visible from Resort X—along the shoreline or in the neighboring area.

The hub of Resort X is a high-thrusting lodge, a modernized version of the great lodges built early in the century for Yellowstone and Glacier Parks, overlooking the lake. There are various public rooms, and a large dining room, able to seat 250 persons, with two sides of glass stretching up thirty feet or more to the ridge of the roof, the supporting structure of which is left visible.

Extending from one side of the lodge is an angled wing containing 51 rooms. The rooms are large, each with dressing room and bath, and a balcony facing the lake. Extending from the other side of the lodge is a hall used for music, dancing, lectures, meetings, indoor games, etc., and smaller rooms for this and that.

From the lodge a park opens out in every direction. The terrain is hilly, with areas of mowed grass, grass planted with many kinds of trees, and wooded stretches intermingled. A sizable portion of the 1,799 acres are "park" in the strict sense—nature deliberately fashioned by man into art. A dozen well-designed cottages are located along the lake shore and on one of the small hills. In a hilly zone, partly along the lake, is a golf course. There are hiking trails; and good horses at the stable, from which riding trails go around the lake; and a bicycle path.

There is a boat launching ramp and a marina equipped to handle your boat or rent you a boat for fishing, skiing, or exploring the lake. Facilities and equipment are available for volleyball, horseshoes, shuffleboard, badminton, card games, dominoes, and nearly everything else you can think of.

Lodging at Resort X costs the same as at a moderate-priced motel. Dinner, with plenty of food and good food, runs about $5. Golf is $2, riding $5 for the first hour, decreasing thereafter. There are no fees for tennis, swimming, and the rest. All rooms and cottages are air-conditioned and electronically heated; electric and telephone wires are underground.

Workers of the World

Resort X is linked with 15 other units in what may be called a chain. The 16 differ somewhat, but their general style —the system—is similar. All have a lot of land (up to 3,600 acres) and almost all are located on big lakes (up to 160,000 acres)—mostly the man-made lakes created in the river-control programs of the past fifty years. Each is a "State Resort Park" (SRP) in what the Commonwealth of Kentucky, their proprietor, identifies as "The Nation's Finest Park System." X is the Barren River SRP.

I have reached the point of my story: In a word, these SRPs are a socialist institution—are socialism in practice.

I want to avoid overstatement. An SRP is not another Homestead, Hotel du Cap, Cloisters, Vouliegmeni, or Gulf & Western Dominican paradise, nor does its cuisine measure up to Lasserre or Pyramide. There is nothing chic about SRPs; they are Middle American territory. But I attest the following:

1. You get a better deal for your money—much better—than at any commercial establishment within sighting distance of the SRP rates. In some features—most notably the terrain setting—you cannot do better at any price.

2. Cost aside, there is also quality. The architecture of at least several of the SRPs' buildings is good, even distinguished; most of the furniture is appropriate, comfortable, and sturdily built; and what may be called the macro-landscaping is admirable.

3. The staff of the SRPs, indoors and outdoors, is competent, courteous, and pleasant. The waitresses in the big lodge dining room wear, as uniform, a good-looking dress in a color (differing for each SRP unit) repeated in the jumpsuits worn by the room and cottage clean-up squads, and modified with a handsome scarf for the women at the reception desks. The men in the ground crew are cheerful and efficient.

4. The SRP facilities are well kept. The water in the pools, unlike that in most motel pools, is clean and clear, the bright furniture around them in good repair. Ping-pong tables and comparable equipment are in good shape. There is no litter, inside or out, on floor, grass, or roadside—not even on the afternoon of Labor Day, when we checked in at Barren River SRP.

The picture is sufficiently filled-in to pose the formidable question: What are the spiritual descendants of Adam Smith to make of this? Are these not prime articles of faith: that the heavy hand of government messes up anything it touches; that the consumer always suffers when socialism takes over; that initiative, the spur of efficient performance, can flourish only in the private market; that the employees of government inevitably become routine bureaucrats, indifferent or downright uncivil in their relations with the public?

Say It Can't Be True

How, then, are we to explain these Kentucky SRPs, which refute the anti-socialist truisms up and down the line?

It is easy enough to say, for example, that the SRPs are a rip-off of Kentucky taxpayers. But that gets nowhere in explaining the creative use that is made of the land.

No doubt the employees swell the Park Commissioner's bureaucratic empire. But that leaves untouched the problem of why these employees are so presentable, efficient, and friendly. Why are the SRP buildings and furnishings so much more tasteful than those of their commercial peers? And what to say about the absence of litter —impossible without an unspoken consensus among management, employees, and customers?

Ideological generalizations won't do as answers, except for ideologues. Help, please, Milton Friedman! □

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ON-GOING DEBATE

The SECOND SPRING of American Conservatism

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

WHEN GEORGE NASH'S *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America* appeared last year, it ushered in a widespread discussion concerning the present condition and the future prospects of American conservatism. Hegel observed in his *Philosophy of History* that "the owl of Minerva takes its flight at twilight." Now that a scholarly book has been written about the conservative movement—now that the owl of Minerva in the very unowl-like guise of Mr. Nash has taken its flight—is it all over for the conservative movement except, I suppose, for a decent burial at which Clare Boothe Luce and John Kenneth Galbraith would be the chief mourners?

That particular possibility, it seems to me, is very unlikely; and so it seems to a great many observers, even those not especially friendly to America's conservatives. One of these, Jeane Kirkpatrick, concludes ("Why the New Right Lost," *Commentary*, February 1977):

> To read such analyses today is to be reminded that the New Right is not really new at all, but represents a strain of nativist populism whose roots are deep in American history and which has already played a highly important role in American politics, especially in the South and Southwest. As such it is no more likely to disappear from the contemporary political scene than it is to become the center of a new majority party. It will fail in its current version because of its hostility to another deeply rooted aspect of contemporary politics—the welfare state, whose benefits no majority in any democratic society has yet forsworn. Nevertheless, in one form or another, it will remain with us for a very long time to come.

And if the tone and some of the content of Miss Kirkpatrick's article lead us to suspect the soundness of her final judgment, we have only to glance at the election returns from the Western world. They reveal a profound unease with social-democratic and liberal explanations and solutions. On questions such as crime, education, and the intrusiveness of big government, the new political climate is deeply conservative—even though during this hesitant interregnum the people continue to vote for conservative fellow-travelers who call themselves "progressives." (Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's economic policies, for example, are somewhat to the right of those advocated by Paul McCracken when he was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors.) The fuzzy Center is dissolving, and both conservatives and Communists are registering marked gains.

In a sense, both social democracy and Communism are profoundly reactionary movements. They represent outworn social classes and modes of production. They are the political expression of those groups—both in the Western world and in the developing countries—who have been left behind by the revolutionary changes that have occurred in post-industrial society. It is possible that these groups may impede and in some cases disrupt the development of post-industrial society; they cannot provide leadership for it. The Left today represents an international society of losers. A social-democratic mandate no longer exists, and the persistent problems that confront the world are not soluble through applications of left-liberal rhetoric and doses of Marxist Geritol for the relief of political tired blood. It is, of course, debatable whether the future belongs to conservatism; it is quite certain that it does not belong to social democracy.

No one can predict the future, and historians, more than most observers, are acutely aware of the folly of attempting to anticipate the developmental processes of history. Indeed, our essential concern in politics is not with the future but with the present. Our question, then, is not about the role of conservatism in the future but about the present condition and prospects of the conservative movement.

Because of the doctrinaire nature of ideology, the parties of the Right and of the Left are each committed to a corpus of irreformable dogma, which must be imposed upon a recalcitrant social and political reality. As Edmund Burke

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Mr. Tonsor is a professor of intellectual history at the University of Michigan. This article is adapted from a speech he presented at the 1977 national meeting of the Philadelphia Society.

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might put it, "The theoretical perfection of these dogmas is their practical defect." The reason for their rigidity is easily understandable. Ideologies are born in the political agonies of a particular era; they bear the historical stamp of their origins. They are chained by time to a moment in the past, and, because they embody irreformable doctrine and are thus essentially unalterable, they cannot respond adequately either to changes in the mode of production or to a transformed social and cultural reality.

It is as important to understand the limits and the limitations of liberty as it is to affirm its indispensability. The failure to discuss liberty in the context of community gives libertarianism its utopian character

It strikes one as odd indeed that Marxism, which originally posited the importance of changes in the mode of production for the total political and cultural configuration, should be so incapable of accommodating itself to the historical processes of change. When Marxists view the development of capitalism they rightly identify important changes which have taken place. We may quarrel with their designations of "early," "high," and "late" capitalism. We certainly do not disagree with their thesis that capitalism has had a developmental history and that the present-day society it has produced is vastly different from the seventeenth century society characteristic of incipient capitalism. If indeed there is such change in the developmental history of capitalism, one might expect equally important change in the developmental history of socialism. If there is such a thing as late capitalism, there must be, one might suppose, something to be described as "late socialism." If Marxists persist in describing imperialism as "the last and highest stage of capitalism," ought they not to be equally willing to describe Stalinism and Maoism as "the last and highest stage of socialism"?

I suggest that they should, for the very good reason that the revolutionary transformation in the mode of production which has characterized the development of post-industrial society has made the varieties of Marxism obsolete in any but hopelessly backward societies. The base of Marxism, that conglomerate class entity Marxists call the proletariat, has been in steady decline in the industrialized world since the middle of the nineteenth century. And this process has been accelerating. Peter Drucker, among others, has called attention to it; Daniel Bell argues its implications elaborately in *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973). He gives us the gist of his argument in a short statement in the February 1977 *Encounter*:

> Today, in every advanced industrial country, the industrial working class is shrinking relative to the rising new classes in society, particularly the professional and technical classes. In the United States today, one out of every four persons in the labor force is professional and technical and managerial. Probably fewer than 20 per cent of the labor force is engaged directly in industrial production. Yet the translation of these *tendencies* into political groups, and the creation of more appropriate political nomenclatures than those of the present—assuming with "impervious simples" that economic and occupational interests have some overt political counterpart—is a long-term historical process that will take decades to complete.

The evolution of a new class—those who invent, control, command, and enlarge the scientific, educational, and technical apparatus of the new society—is politically and socially an event of the greatest importance. The dynamics and energies of this social transformation cannot be contained within the rigidities of Marxist ideology. To employ the language of Marxist social analysis, the contradictions and the irrationalities are simply too great. This does not mean that Marxism is going to be swept away in some sudden apocalyptic series of events. Only Marxists believe that these great social disruptions constitute the ordinary process of social change. It is more likely that the Communist states, like a fox caught in a trap, will gnaw off a leg. They will survive for a considerable while, limping into a vicious and degraded decrepitude. So much for the "last and highest stage of socialism."

This transformation of society in the post-industrial era has as many implications for conservatism as it has for Marxism. Some important aspects of it seem, at first sight, to be especially favorable to a continued and even greater conservative influence in our society. There are other factors, however, which may mitigate and might even negate this influence.

ALTHOUGH POST-INDUSTRIAL society has been developing for a rather long time, the period of most rapid transformation has been the three decades since World War II. You will recall that the full title of Mr. Nash's book is: *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945*. The date in the title is of some importance, for it suggests what I believe to be the case: that contemporary conservatism in its broad outlines crystallized in the late Fifties and early Sixties.

Its three major components—the fear of statism and a commitment to market economics; the effort to mobilize against totalitarianism, especially in its Soviet form; and, finally, a growing concern with values, community, and the conditions necessary to a humane society—had been articulated philosophically and had achieved a rather stable balance by the early Sixties. Most of the major creative figures in the movement had developed their positions and achieved eminence in the course of the previous quarter-century. While I do not wish to suggest that those great intellectual heroes of the movement have less or little more to say to our contemporary world than they had to say to the world of 1960, I do want to suggest that meanwhile the world has changed a great deal and that neither the theoretical formulations nor the practical applications of conservative theory have kept pace with those changes.

A substantial number of major conservative figures have died in the recent past, and it must strike every observer

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that in terms of intellectual creativity we are an aging movement. No doubt we have established important bridgeheads into the oncoming generation. But this new generation, one suspects, in spite of its energy and its sophistication, is following Galton's law of filial regression, which states that children of distinguished parents are apt to be rather less distinguished.

Let me discuss this second generation of conservative intellectuals at greater length. I believe that they have been powerfully inhibited in the renewal of conservative theorization by the political activism that has marked the Sixties and Seventies. I note with disappointment the number—and among them some of the best minds and potentially most creative abilities—who have turned away from the academy and the intellectual life to what they feel to be a more direct exercise of power in political activism and governmental service.

IT IS TRUE THAT, as someone remarked in connection with St. Elizabeth Seton, "The paradox of detachment and involvement is completely resolved only in the saints." It is also true that in the past some of the major conservative intellectuals have taken an active political role; Burke's name leaps to mind immediately. Even so, political passion and political involvement, I am convinced, have been destructive forces in the second generation of conservative intellectuals—the generation, incidentally, to which I belong.

Intellectuals have a very special and a privileged role in society. We have, as Jesus said of that other Mary in the New Testament, "chosen the better part." It cannot be taken from us and we ought not to surrender it voluntarily.

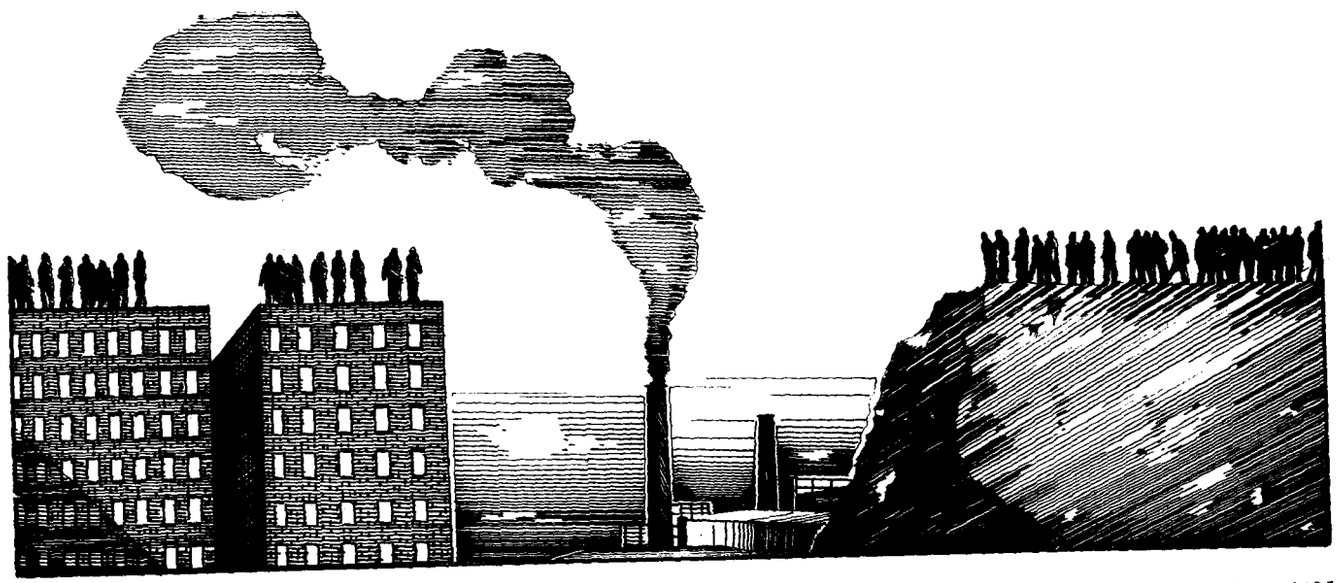
A second and more important factor in what I believe to be the decline in the level and energy of intellectual theorizing is the impact of what has generally been called "libertarianism" on the quality and range of conservative concerns. Here I am discussing not the body of economic theory known as "libertarianism" but the total *Weltanschauung*. "Libertarianism" as a *Weltanschauung* positively prevents thought by reducing the range of options for dealing with post-industrial society to a few threadbare platitudes, which libertarian intellectuals recite superstitiously on every conceivable occasion. Today it is as important to understand the limits and the limitations of liberty as it is to affirm its indispensability to a humane and moral life. It is the failure to discuss liberty in the context of community that gives "libertarianism" its utopian character.

Since 1945 the most impressive influences upon the polity from the side of conservatism have come from economic theory. The impact of the economists has been decisive and overwhelming. But even were their victory complete, the task of conservatism would be only just beginning. As Warren Nutter and many others have remarked, there are no economic solutions to the most important problems in our society.

During the next two decades we will find political and cultural issues rather than narrowly economic issues to be of primary concern. This is at least in part due to the fact that our society has moved from scarcity to superfluity. It is, for example, not *need*, but our concern with the amenities of a pollution-free environment—and with the political considerations of the Arab-Israeli conflict—which created the so-called "energy crisis." I do not mean that economics will be unimportant but that economics will be less important than culture and politics. Similarly, because of the importance of education, research, and professional expertise in the post-industrial era, the role of government in education and research will become an increasingly important question, as will the role of government in culture and the larger issue of the relationship of politics to values. Daniel Bell remarks in *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*:

> The politics of the next decade is more likely to concern itself, on the national level, with such public-interest issues as health, education, and the environment, and, on the local level, crime, municipal services, and costs. These are communal issues . . .

And that final remark is just the point. These *are* all communal issues. The atomism inherent in economic calculation



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must yield to the collective concerns of community. If during the past thirty years economics has dominated the conservative movement, conservatives during the next twenty years will have to engage themselves more completely with the realms of education and science, of community and value. The transition will not be altogether easy, even though a considerable block of conservative intellectuals have from the outset concerned themselves with these questions.

A number of conservatives have argued for an alliance with populism. I do not believe such an alliance can be formed. The conservative intellectual is not going to spend his time constructing defenses for decadent forms

I quote once more and finally from Daniel Bell, this time from *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976):

> Crises of belief are recurrent in human history, which does not make them less significant, even if the topic risks becoming banal. The invitation to despair arises because the consequences are real, if not always immediate, and yet no one can do very much about them. Gadgets can be engineered, programs can be designed, institutions can be built, but belief has an organic quality, and it cannot be called into being by fiat . . . The major consequence of this crisis—I leave aside its cultural dilemmas—is the loss of *civitas*, that spontaneous willingness to obey the law, to respect the rights of others, to forgo the temptations of private enrichment at the expense of the public weal—in short, to honor the "city" of which one is a member. Instead, each man goes his own way, pursuing his private vices, which can be indulged only at the expense of public benefits.
>
> The foundation of any liberal society is the willingness of all groups to compromise private ends for the public interest. The loss of *civitas* means either that interests become so polarized, and passions so inflamed, that terrorism and group fighting ensue, and political *anomia* prevails; or that every public exchange becomes a cynical deal in which the most powerful segments benefit at the expense of the weak. Yet even where a sense of *civitas* remains, as in England, the ruts into the future may have been cut so deep from the past—the constraints may be so large, the freedom to maneuver and change so narrow, the institutions, particularly the economic ones, so encrusted—that no regime can substantially stop the slide, and a sense of weariness and despair takes over. These are the greys on grey, the crises of the political order, of the next 25 years.

The basis of *civitas* is a commonly held set of values and beliefs; it is consensus. "We hold these truths," and unless we do there can be no *civitas*. There is no possible way of deriving *civitas* from a libertarian world view, and should libertarianism become a determining aspect of conservatism we shall have forfeited both our right and our ability to speak to our society. There must be agreement that such a thing as the "commonweal" exists, and we must explore the nature of the consensus which makes it possible. This I believe to be the chief task of conservatives now and in the years ahead.

It will not do to think of this restoration of common belief as nothing more than the reaffirmation of traditional values. This I call the "pressed-flower school" of conservatism, a kind of Williamsburg restoration nostalgia which from time to time trots out a past that never was for the irrelevant admiration of the present. Institutions and forms of all sorts—the nature of community itself—will have to be sifted and rethought if we are to preserve what we believe to be necessary and perennial values in a world of rapid change. It may be that some of those things which we hold to be essential are in fact only adventitious. The difference between a traditionalist and a conservative is that the conservative is prepared to abandon the historically contingent, no matter how comfortable or beautiful it is, in the pursuit of *perennial* values.

Traditional forms and attitudes are the special mark of the populist element in American society. This faction is, in effect, stuck in the past, seizing upon the form rather than the spirit of old values and institutions. In the recent past a number of conservatives have argued for an alliance with populism—have argued that there is room for the hardhats and the rednecks under the big tent of a broadly defined conservatism. I understand the temptation, for these groups are of great political importance. I do not believe, however—in spite of the advice of Kevin Phillips—that such an alliance can be formed. And the fact of its impossibility will save conservatism from the temptation of a politics which is reactionary rather than progressive. The conservative intellectual is not going to spend his time constructing defenses for decadent forms.

CONSERVATIVE INTELLECTUALS are particularly well-placed to exert their influence in the search for order and community. They are virtually the only political theorists of any importance today. Increasingly, they are playing an important role in the fields of sociology and law. In theology there has been a swing away from the pop-theology and the social gospelism of the Sixties to a concentration on traditional questions pursued by conventional methods. In the natural sciences, ethology and socio-biology have opened up important new areas of knowledge which are of the utmost importance to conservative social theory.

The most important single development in the conservative intellectual movement at present is the political and social realignment of America's Jewish intellectuals. Even though a number of Europe's great conservatives—Julius Stahl and Benjamin Disraeli among them—were Jewish, American Judaism has traditionally had a close association with liberalism and the Left. But while American Catholic intellectuals moved steadily to the left, Jewish intellectuals moved to the right. The process of this realignment has been complex and complicated, and surely one of the decisive events of the decade. Mr. Nash alludes to it, but so briefly that it almost escapes one's attention. Were one to

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read only *Commentary*, one might assume that America's Jews were a bit more conservative than Gerald Ford. For both Judaism and the American polity the importance of this development cannot be overestimated.

In the 1830s and '40s the Catholic Church in England was finally emerging from the persecution and obscurity which had resulted from the Reformation. On the Continent, Catholic theologians and philosophers had sparked one of the greatest religious revivals in the long history of

Christianity, and Catholics in England were quick to appropriate their thought. Neither the ancient recusant families, who had kept their faith intact in spite of segregation and active persecution, nor the Irish Catholic immigrants who poured into the English cities in such large numbers to work in the mills and the factories were able to provide the intellectual leadership that the growing Catholic population of England was searching for. When that intellectual leadership did appear, it came from a surprising source. The great English Catholic intellectuals of the Victorian era were, for most part, converts from Anglicanism—Cardinal Newman, Archbishop Manning, William George Ward, and Frederick Faber, to name only a few. More important still, many who remained in the Anglican church—men such as Pusey, Gladstone, and Dean Church—were so strongly influenced by Catholic ideas that Anglicanism assumed a wholly new and Catholic character. For a while, Catholic enthusiasts were able to talk of the possible conversion of all Anglicans. Newman in a famous sermon spoke of "the second spring" which the Catholic Church in England was enjoying, and he knew well enough how great a role Anglican converts played in that "second spring."

I have permitted myself this excursion into an obscure corner of ecclesiastical history because I believe that conservatism in America is on the verge of a "second spring." And I believe that the intellectual leadership which will manifest itself in that "second spring" will come from the liberal camp. Even ten years ago one could not have made this bold assertion. Today, conservatism's Oxford converts are pouring in, and, even more importantly, many who do not acknowledge themselves to be conservatives are busy recasting America's culture and politics in a conservative image; the Jewish intellectuals are the visible tip of a very large iceberg. In the Fifties and Sixties liberals and leftists still set the terms and provided the vocabulary for the political and social debate which was reawakening in America. Today, to use a Leninist phrase, conservatives hold "the commanding heights."

It is not important that the Establishment is still largely in place. What is important is that a new generation of intellectuals, men who have passed through the conversion experience, men whose contact with the social and cultural reality of 1977 is quite complete and secure, are forging a new body of conservative social theory and practical application. They indeed represent the second generation and and they will produce the second spring. I believe that a new conservative consensus will emerge in American society, that the center of American politics has moved away from the Left. I believe that there is in process a restoration of liberty, order, community, and value in American society. It is an achievement in which we conservatives have participated and of which we can all be proud. It is an achievement which we owe most especially to that great first generation of scholars and theorists who did not overestimate the importance of politics and power but who quietly and often at great personal sacrifice wrestled with the intellectual problems of their time. □

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ITALY'S COMMUNISTS IN POWER

Last year's considered opinion was that Italy would soon become the first nation in Western Europe to enthrone its Communists. At the end of a recent conference in Washington, there were many doubts about last year's opinion

An Idea Whose Time Is Passing?

HADLEY ARKES

ABOUT A YEAR ago the conviction was becoming settled in academic circles that the Communist Party in Italy (PCI) would have to be brought into the government in a formal role if Italy was to be governed at all. Almost every expert on the subject regarded the ascension of the Communists as at least inevitable, if not imminent. But in the months since then that conviction has eroded, and the erosion became manifest at the beginning of June in a conference held in Washington under the auspices of the American Enterprise Institute and of the Hoover Institution of Stanford.

There are few things more likely to weaken the surety of experts than an Imminent Event that takes too long to decide when it ought to arrive. In this case, the delay has drawn attention to the firmness of resistance in Italy to the prospect of bringing the Communists to power. As the resistance shows its steadiness and strength—as the sense of the inevitable begins to recede—academic observers have been taking a second look at the claims made for the Communists. And after this kind of security, a few of them are even willing to raise again certain questions of principle that they might have been less disposed to insist on a year ago.

Professor Giacomo Sani has documented the steady increment of growth in the electoral support given to the Communists, a trend that has been strengthened by the lowering of the voting age. But Sani has also measured in his surveys the depth of opposition to the Communists that still subsists, an opposition grounded solidly in principle. While the Communists have

done disproportionately well among the young, it is nevertheless true that 60 per cent of the new voters did not vote Communist, and one may raise questions about the political stability of many first-time voters, whose commitments are not yet fully matured.

At any rate, despite the long-term secular trends he discovered, Sani was quite emphatic in observing that the entry of the Communists into the government could not be regarded as inevitable. The same theme was sounded by Professor Joseph La Palombara of Yale, who surely has not been known as any kind of enemy of social progress. Professor La Palombara thought that the Communists were at least two years away from entry into the government, if indeed they could gain entry at all. He was inclined, then, to take advantage of this breathing space and extend it—to buy time, as he said, until the Communists could do something more substantial to dispel the reservations that were properly held about them.

La Palombara was not indelicate enough to spell it out, but what the Communists would have to do was fairly clear. For one thing they would have to break their connections with the Soviet Union. They would have to make it clear that they do not regard the Soviet Union or any other Communist regime as a legitimate version of socialist order. They would have to move away from the Leninist principles of organization—from the rigid discipline of "democratic centralism"—and they would have to accept the defection from their ranks of many old-line Stalinists. If they could summon the will to go this far, they might as well go the rest of the way and change their name—just to make more manifest their break with Leninism and the Soviet Union.

Since no one seriously expects the Italian Communists to make any of these moves, one may wonder what steps they *could* take in the next two years that could make any real difference. For La Palombara, apparently, the lessons to be learned over the next two years would not concern the character of the Communist Party. They would involve, rather, an accumulation of experience that would bring the claims of the Communists into serious question.

For the past year Italy has been

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plagued by a wave of violence that would seem to signal a breakdown in the politics and culture of a constitutional order. There have been political kidnappings and assassinations; violent confrontations in the street; shootouts between demonstrators and police. A group called the Red Brigades (*Brigate Rosse*) has resorted to capturing its enemies, lining them up against the wall, and shooting them in the legs. In the first days of June two journalists were wounded by terrorists, and the morning after the second assault a young, fashionably dressed couple emerged from a car in Rome and sprayed shots at Emilio Rossi, a television news director. (Seven bullets were eventually removed from Rossi's legs.) This practice was first limited to politicians and journalists but it has been extended now to jury members—who might be tempted, after all, to enforce the law and vote convictions. Nor have the victims been drawn only from the Right. As Marino de Medici of *Il Tempo* has written, the violence has to be interpreted as an assault on the system itself, and the Communists are part of the system that is under attack. Some of the worst episodes of violence have occurred in Bologna, which has been held up as a model of local government under the Communists, and the meaning of these attacks has not been lost on the Communist leaders. They have joined the government in denouncing these assaults from guerrilla groups on the Left, and in July they finally lent their support to a policy of cracking down on these gangs through the use of increased surveillance and preventive detention.

If the political violence has become diffuse—if it emanates from sources that are outside the Communists' control—it becomes harder to see, then, just how a sharing of power with the Communists would enlarge in any way the capacity of the government to govern. In relations with the unions also there have been signs in the last year of a new militancy. Leaders have emerged who are not disposed to have the demands of their members reshaped by the leadership of the Communist Party before they can be presented to the government. Here, too, it was thought that the Communists would be in a unique position to gain the compliance of the unions if the government pursued measures that would require greater discipline and restraint among industrial workers. No one, of course, can really doubt the immense influence that the Communist Party commands today over many sections of Italian society through its control of the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL). (And if unionization spreads to the police, there may be another chilling confirmation of that fact.) But in a number of places the strands are beginning to come apart, and it may be slightly harder now to guarantee that the unions will follow the lead of the government, even if there are Communists in key ministries.

Legitimizing the Left

There is a feeling, therefore, that the PCI will not in the end make any difference for the better in the state of things—that the new world will not be brought into being. On the other hand, after the PCI has schooled its followers to the temper of revolution, it may simply drive them to the further margins of politics if the party appears too bourgeois or established.

In this respect we may be seeing only a continuation of the trend that began in the 1960s with the "opening to the Left." Instead of binding the Socialists more closely to the Center, the experience of coalition merely legitimized the perspectives of the Left. It rendered the Socialists more truculent rather than more compromising; it failed to extract them from their alliances with the Communists in local government; and it finally drove the Socialists into a closer alliance with the Communists on the national level. In the meantime, the Socialists expanded their patronage and helped to enlarge the public sector. They did, in short, the things that would strengthen the constituency for a politics of the Left; if the Communists are in turn legitimized through a Grand Coalition, the dynamism of the Left may move well beyond the ability of the Communist leaders to control it. In any event, the result does not promise to lure large numbers of voters on the Left or to annex them more securely to constitutional government.

As for the Communists themselves, the last year has brought fresh reasons for doubting that there is any malady in Italy the PCI could help to cure. If the Christian Democrats have displayed any notable weakness apart from corruption, it has been their inability to reduce the public sector and cut government spending. But no one doubted that the Communists were capable of holding their own in a contest of corruption, and in Naples the Communist administration has succeeded, in little more than a year, in raising the number of patronage positions by four thousand. (Its predecessor had reduced the number by two thousand.)

The assumption has been that the addition of the Communists would give the national government the backbone it needed to carry out "tough" decisions. But there are two classes of "tough" decisions. One involves the discipline of reducing inflation (and encouraging investment) by reducing government spending and paring jobs from the public sector. The other variety of "tough" decisions is comparable to those that the Carter Administration has been disposed to make on subjects like energy: decisions that work by establishing price controls; involving the government more deeply in the allocation of investments; enlarging the domain of services and administration; and generally expanding the role of the government. It should be plain by now that, with some reservations perhaps about controls, it is the latter class of "tough" decisions to which the Communists would lend their weight in a coalition government. The marriage would be very likely, then, to bring out the worst features in the Christian Democratic Party, and its effects on the Italian economy are likely to be anything but salutary.

The Italian Communists were represented at the Washington conference by Lucio Libertini, a member of the Central Committee. The leaders of the Party were not about to send a Stalinist on an embassy to Washington, and so the conference found in Signor Libertini a man suitably affable and reassuringly ordinary. One of the more memorable vignettes of the conference was a scene in the garden of the Italian embassy. Libertini was engaged in a relaxed conversation with the ambassador, and he cast his eyes about, surveying the surroundings: the stately walls covered with vines, the sculpture, the appointments—in short, an ensemble ordered to a taste that need not strain to be

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uncommon. The scene brought to mind an incident in *The Princess Casamassima*, in which the young protagonist, an aspiring revolutionary, is making his first extensive trip through France and Italy. In Venice the young man recalls a friend, a revolutionary of sterner commitment, who "wouldn't have the least feeling for this incomparable, abominable old Venice. He would cut up the ceilings of the Veronese into strips, so that everyone might have a little piece." Henry James went on to have his character admit that "I don't want everyone to have a little piece of anything and I've a great horror of that kind of invidious jealousy which is at the bottom of the idea of redistribution."

If there was any disquieting aspect of the conference in Washington it was that the religion of redistribution seemed to permeate the remarks of many Americans, including those who professed opposition to the PCI. Senator Frank Church faintly surprised the participants, for example, by declaring his deepest aversion to Communist regimes. He was strongly indisposed to bring the Communists into the government in Italy, and yet he warned at the same time that the Italians would have to bear the main burden of averting the danger by "putting their own house in order." The Italians would have to attack the problems of poverty and of the wide disparities in wealth; they would have to deal with those underlying social maladies that prepare the ground for the appeal of Communism.

As political analysis, of course, this was patent nonsense. Political regimes do not necessarily become more stable as their economies improve. There is far less poverty in Italy now than there was thirty years ago, and yet the Communists' following is much larger. The factual problems in this line of argument are as nothing, however, compared to its moral problems. One falls into the gravest moral confusion when one suggests that the case for constitutional government is somehow linked in principle to a certain "just" distribution of income—which no one, so far, has been able to define. It should come as no surprise to Senator Church that ten or twenty years from now there will still be disparities of income in Italy, as there are disparities of income in the United States and in the Soviet Union. The effect of Church's argument would be to legitimize the claims of the Communist Party: forevermore, so long as disparities in income continue and so long as every wrong in the society has not yet been remedied.

Oddly enough, the Italians seem to need less reminding about the principled basis of democratic government than the Americans, perhaps because the Italians are that much closer to real danger. Despite all the expectations that the Christian Democrats would eventually arrange some deal with the Communists, they have drawn the line sharply and that line has been held through the past year. One old State Department hand recalls that in the 1960s about half of the Christian Democrats in the National Assembly had come out publicly in favor of a coalition with the Socialists. Today no Christian Democrat in the Assembly has come out publicly in favor of an "historic compromise" with the Communists. The Christian Democrats fought the election last year on the promise to brook no coalition with the Communists, and there seems to be a lively sense current among political men that a coalition would bring massive defections from the base of the party. There has not even been a move toward collaboration with the Communists in the formation of any local government as a means of testing the possibilities of a coalition.

The British Analogue

What the Christian Democrats understand is that a Grand Coalition would be a means of allowing the Communists to govern, in effect, without an opposition. It would be a means of compelling the main Italian party to put the final stamp of legitimacy on the Communist faction. Once the principal "constitutional" party had conceded that it was willing to take a risk with constitutional government, the commitment to a regime of law might suffer even further erosion. And if there were still those in the society who would resist a Communist government, they would be compelled to desert the party that helped bring the Communists to power.

In this respect the Italian Christian Democrats may experience the same fate as the British Liberals in the 1920s when they helped bring the first Labor Government into office. As Austen Chamberlain laid out the logic at the time, those who wished to avert a socialist government would be compelled to vote Conservative, for they had no assurance any longer that, in voting Liberal, they were not actually voting, in the end, to install the socialists. By the force of that logic, the Liberals were virtually destroyed in the next election as a major force in British politics; it is the same logic that accounts for the steadiness of the Christian Democrats now in resisting a coalition.

Most of the Italians who gathered at the conference on Italian politics were well aware of these things. A number of them also, as journalists and politicians, had experienced terrorism at first hand. (Massimo de Carolis, a young

(Continues on page 1131)

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LETTER FROM LONDON

After the Fireworks

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

THE JAPANESE HAVE a saying: "After the fireworks, the night is very dark." When the fireworks cascaded in the London sky, at the height of the Silver Jubilee celebrations, Britain was suffused for a moment with feelings of loyalty, unity, and genuine pleasure. Huge throngs surged across the flower-beds opposite Buckingham Palace in their enthusiasm to see the Queen and her family when they came out onto the balcony: but the gardeners found next morning that barely a dozen geraniums had been flattened. Almost everybody, it seemed, had stepped over or around the flowers.

It was a very English occasion—as England used to be.

But no sooner had the fireworks faded away than the darkness of the political scene closed in again. Instead of the good-humored crowds cheering the Queen, we saw, night after night on the television news, massed pickets —sometimes 1,800 strong—fighting the police outside the Grunwick film-processing laboratory in north London. When the local branch of the postmen's union refused to deliver mail to Grunwick, which is a criminal offense, the Attorney General admitted that he was unable or unwilling to enforce the law. There were also repeated scuffles with the police outside some provincial newspaper offices where the National Union of Journalists was trying to enforce a closed shop. Then, amid cries of horror and warnings of doom, the Government's famous, or infamous, "social contract" with the unions collapsed irrevocably. The most the unions would agree to was to ask for only one raise every 12 months.

The "social contract" was a name thought up by the Labor Party's publicity experts for a deal under which the unions agreed to moderate their wage demands in return for a package of pro-union, anti-capitalist legislation. The deal had lasted two years.

Now the Government asked for a third year, a Phase III of the "social contract." But the rank-and-file trade union members rebelled. They don't want another political deal: they want money—enough to compensate for inflation, and a bit more if possible.

So, contrary to the advice of their official leaders, the coal-miners voted to seek a 90 per cent wage increase from November 1, and the massive Transport and General Workers' Union voted against accepting any further pay curbs. Since then, wage demands ranging from 15 to 70 per cent have been flooding in from all sides—compared with the 5 or 6 per cent which the Government had hoped might be the norm in Phase III.

THE POLITICAL implications are immediate and serious. This Government has laid so much stress on its ability, unlike the Conservatives', to reach an understanding with the unions, and thereby to avert strikes and check inflation, that the collapse of the deal must undermine the Government's already tenuous credibility.

Inflation, as the resentful trade unionists quite justifiably point out, has not been prevented by the "social contract." The current rate of inflation is over 17 per cent; so the political price which has been paid to the unions and the restraint which they believe they have shown seem to have been equally in vain. The corollary is that the lack of any formally agreed, nationwide pay policy need not, in itself, be harmful. Earnings, if not basic wage-rates, are ultimately checked by the state of the market rather than by orders from politicians or union bosses.

But no fewer than 40 per cent of the working population (including, for example, railwaymen and hospital doctors, both of whom are prominent in the line for big pay increases) are now employed, directly or indirectly, by the government, which, unlike a private employer, can meet higher wage bills either by just printing more money or by putting up taxes. The Labor Government says that, in the absence of an agreed Phase III, it will stand firm against inflationary pay settlements in the public sector: but the coal-miners brought down the last Conservative Government, and this Government hardly looks to be made of sterner stuff.

It now has virtually no economic policy. Indeed, it has virtually no policy about anything; no policy, that is, which it can implement. It survives in the House of Commons only with the self-interested support of a rag-bag of temporary allies—Liberals, Ulster Unionists, Scottish Nationalists. The Labor Party, in and out of Parliament, is hopelessly split between Social Democrats and Marxists.

All the evidence—of public-opinion polls, of recent by-elections, of conversation with people up and down the country—suggests that, if there were a general election now, the Labor Party would be overwhelmingly defeated.

The reasons for the Government's unpopularity seem unlikely to diminish. Inflation, unemployment, and the arrogance of the unions show no sign of being curbed. The tax burden has become literally unbearable; individuals are being driven into exile and small firms out of business. And yet the loudest voices in the Labor Party are still calling for more socialism, more taxation, more subsidies, more controls.

There is in the electorate a revulsion from these things at several levels: a feeling, at the crudest level, of having been let down, exploited, betrayed; a feeling by almost everyone of being over-taxed and over-governed; a belief that spongers are cosseted while hard work and enterprise are penalized; fear of, and anger against, the unions—matched, in some quarters, by an almost religious devotion to them; and for the first time, at the most sophisticated level, a reaction against many of the long accepted clichés of liberalism and social democracy.

The main doubt, the most urgent question, is whether Mrs. Thatcher and her less than brilliant Conservative colleagues will be able to take proper advantage of this tide which seems to be running so much in their favor. They are impatient to try. Meanwhile, the night is very dark. □

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California's a Garden of Eden.
It's a paradise to live in or see.
But believe it or not
You won't find it so hot
If you ain't got the do-re-mi.
—Woody Guthrie

LIFE WITH TOM AND JANE

Port Huron to Santa Barbara

KEVIN LYNCH

LAST FEBRUARY, about seven hundred young and recently young people gathered in Santa Barbara, California for a meeting of the California Conference on Alternative Public Policy. The setting was the campus of Santa Barbara City College, nestled in the gentle hills north of the town that many Californians consider the most paradisaical in the whole state. Some of the celebrities in attendance were Sam Brown, known in the Sixties for mobilizing huge demonstrations against the Vietnam War and in the Seventies as State Treasurer of Colorado and, most recently, as Jimmy Carter's director of ACTION, the government agency that supervises VISTA and the Peace Corps; Al Haber, the first president of Students for a Democratic Society; and Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS and the person most responsible for the Santa Barbara conference.

Since SDS alumni were so well represented, it was natural for the delegates to reminisce about a much smaller conference that took place 15 years earlier. In June 1962 about 45 young leftists gathered in the small Michigan town of Port Huron—at a camp belonging to the United Auto Workers—to discuss a 63-page program of action, drafted by 22-year-old Tom Hayden, for an infant organization called the Students for a Democratic Society. Out of this meeting came the SDS Declaration of Independence: the Port Huron Statement. Written by Hayden and Richard Flacks (who was also at Santa Barbara), the statement diagnosed the American disease and prescribed "a democracy of individual participation."

In the next few years SDS and Hayden were at the forefront of the antiwar movement. Hayden traveled to North Vietnam in 1967 and returned bearing two gifts for the American people: a message from the North Vietnamese and the first American prisoner of the Vietnam War to be released. A year later, while the elders of the Democratic Party were meeting in Chicago to crown Hubert Humphrey, Hayden and thousands of other disciples of participatory democracy were gassed on the streets of Chicago. In 1973 Hayden widened his horizons. He married Jane Fonda, Hollywood starlet and counterculture queen, and established himself in California.

Soon after the marriage Hayden heard the call of the mainstream he had railed against for so long. The successful 1974 gubernatorial campaign of Jerry Brown prompted him to take the plunge, by challenging John Tunney, the state's junior senator, for the Democratic nomination in 1976. Although he sought to persuade Californians that "the radicalism of the Sixties is fast becoming the common sense of the Seventies," and received a $400,000 campaign donation from his generous wife, Hayden fell some 500,000 votes short of the not very popular Tunney, who went on to lose to S. I. Hayakawa in November. But Hayden did salvage something from the defeat—a list of the 18,000 contributors to his campaign and a cadre of workers with which to build a new political coalition, the Campaign for Economic Democracy.

Discussing what changes CED envisions, Sam Hurst, another former SDSer and a principal of the Hayden campaign, said, "The economic platform is the only thing that appeals to enough people. There is no single issue such as war or civil rights. But you can build around poverty or the threat of it."

The villain at Santa Barbara was Big Business, or, as Jane Fonda says, "corporate tyrants, invisible to us." CED wrote itself a sturdy platform that called for control of corporations, full employment, public ownership of utilities, a restructuring of the tax system, and support for rent control.

In the months since the conference Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy has had three tests. On April 19 Berkeley voted on a sweeping rent control amendment that had the vigorous support of CED (along with Representative Ronald Dellums and the Soviet attaché in San Francisco). The amendment failed dismally—by a margin of 63 per cent to 37 per cent. Next came two races for Assembly seats in Los Angeles: in the 44th Assembly District, its endorsement failed to help; in the 46th, the Hayden coalition, realizing that its "clout" was being questioned, poured in a great deal of money and over two hundred volunteers. When the votes were counted CED's record was intact—its candidate, an early favorite, had lost.

BUT THE THREE defeats have not in any way diminished Hayden's vast reservoir of confidence in his own electoral attractiveness. It is known that he is considering running for two offices: state controller (if the incumbent Democrat, Ken Cory, chooses not to seek re-election) or U.S. Congressman (the seat now held by Robert Dornan, a Republican conservative). Hayden's chances in both cases are dim.

While observers once regarded Hayden and his CED as potential powers, the three spring defeats have persuaded most of them that the Hayden machine resembles a mo-ped more than a steamroller. In addition, some of his erstwhile supporters are beginning to question his motives. David Harris, former husband of Joan Baez and a fixture on the California Left since his days at Stanford in the Sixties, is telling anybody who will listen that Hayden's desire to build an organization is purely for his personal political ambitions.

So far Hayden hasn't chosen to respond to such charges, preferring to let his actions speak for him. If he were in it for himself, would he have let his wife spend half a million dollars for what she calls a "retreat center" for CED? The (tax-deductible) retreat center is a 120-acre ranch north of Santa Barbara that the press has taken to calling "Tom and Jane's paradise hideaway." □

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THE LAST SYMBOL

Don't Stand for It

B. THOMAS JAMES

NO ONE THOUGHT it could happen but, in retrospect, there were some clear indications. The first was the ruling from HEW, put out by O. J. Squibb, a lower-echelon bureaucrat, that mother-daughter and father-son social events were sexist. As a result, all public school functions must now have the same number of each sex in attendance. Ladies' Day at the ball park fell next, and *Playboy* magazine was forced to change its name to *Playperson*. O. J. Squibb advanced in rank and power because of his burning zeal to rid American life of all sexist symbols.

In the course of his many studies of the schools, Squibb found one persistent symbol of sexism. At first he was reluctant to challenge it but, with the help of the ACLU, the courts all over the country were soon flooded with cases, while a tandem effort for restrictive legislation was begun in the House by Elizabeth Holtzman and in the Senate by George McGovern.

The one persistent sexist symbol was the upright urinal. At first women were somewhat ashamed to admit that they were disturbed by this obvious difference in the way they were treated. Then Betty Friedan wrote a long essay for *Ms.* magazine that was felt to be the definitive piece on the subject. She discarded the notion that separate but functionally equal facilities might remedy the situation. She called for removal of the offending objects.

Her initial call went unheeded and occasioned a number of ribald jokes. What seemed at first a silly outburst gradually became a social movement of unusual power and ferocity. The problem of how to address this delicate topic was solved by using baby talk. Mrs. Friedan adopted the slogan, "Doing number one is natural but don't stand for it." In-depth psychoanalytic studies carried out on a number of feminist leaders revealed a deep-seated resentment at having men assume a position of dominance.

The academic community, the psychiatrists, and the talk shows had little success in stemming the laughter until Bella Abzug led ten hefty women legislators into the Senate and House men's rooms and smashed all the offending objects to pieces. The incident was followed by raids on men's rooms all over the country. McGovern was photographed in hip boots helping the girls while Charles Percy and Nelson Rockefeller cheered. The airports were a mess, as were most public buildings. Eric Sevareid was almost electrocuted when he put his hand on a microphone in a flooded studio. Walter Cronkite's secretary had smashed up an adjacent men's room a few minutes before.

THE COUNTRY was divided on the issue and tempers flared. Senator Jesse Helms called Percy a pinko-dupe on the Senate floor. George McGovern and Fritz Mondale insisted on sitting while addressing their colleagues, as a gesture in support of the movement. A far-reaching bill by McGovern outlawed all stand-up facilities in public buildings, and a tax rider on the manufacture of all such plumbing fixtures was added by Representative Holtzman in the House. Most state legislatures had passed similar laws, and the Supreme Court had two cases before it, one from Texas and one from Idaho.

Right to P Committees were forming all over the country but the news media ignored them. At a Senate hearing one distinguished gentleman, a supporter of Right to P, recounted the joys of his boyhood, especially writing in the snow. He was almost assassinated by an irate woman as he left the chamber. A few weeks later NOW produced a psychiatrist who had studied snow writing and found it mostly drivel.

The Idaho case involved a recently passed law that prohibited the manufacture of any men's apparel with zippers or buttons in the front. It was widely held that because of their long robes the Supreme Court Justices harbored a natural prejudice in favor of such legislation.

O. J. Squibb had become a feminist hero, and there was outrage when his psychiatrist's office was broken into. (It was Squibb's psychiatrist who had analyzed the snow writing.) David Susskind had Squibb and Daniel Ellsberg on his program, with their psychiatrists. All agreed that the FBI and CIA were probably involved.

Squibb expressed the opinion that the President was somehow involved in the break-in, since he had refused to sign an executive order to change the design of all clothing made for the military. He had expressed concern for national security.

William Buckley devoted a *Firing Line* program to the issue. He had Margaret Mead on with him and the program was half over before anyone knew what they were talking about. It all seemed very intelligent and devoid of emotion but on her way out of the studio Mrs. Mead smashed up the men's room.

The Supreme Court ruled, in a 6 to 3 decision, that the plumbing restrictions were constitutional. The Justices cited the Equal Rights Amendment in support of their decision. The Right to P Committee had brought up the right to privacy. The Court commented in a footnote that privacy applied only to consenting adults, women, and their doctors. The clothing laws were felt to be a state matter and the Court refused to hear the case.

A strange restlessness mixed with ennui pervaded the country, punctuated by an occasional report like that of the arrest of a middle-aged man who had climbed the Brooklyn Bridge to vent his frustration. There was much lamenting but little agreement about what had gone wrong. Most agreed that the world would have been a much better place to live in if old man Friedan had done the dishes once in a while. □

Ever since attending North Georgia College, Mr. James says, he has been skulking around the world looking over his shoulder. He doesn't want to be more specific because he fears that, with the publication of this article, NOW may put out a contract on his life.

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LESSONS FROM THE SUPREME COURT

Some Are More Equal

BRUCE ODOM

TWO DECISIONS by the Warren Court are widely accepted as landmarks, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954, and *Baker* v. *Carr* in 1962. These cases drastically changed the status quo in the United States, the first in the area of segregation of school facilities and the second in the apportionment of legislatures. Many, many other cases have been brought in attempts to evade, challenge, or clarify these decisions, and have resulted in other decisions that effectively extended the range of their operation deep into the political system of the country. On the face of it education and apportionment have nothing in common, but a quick analysis of decisions in these areas reveals something else.

In *Brown*, the Court reversed the 1896 holding in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* that separate but equal facilities for blacks and whites was not a violation of the Constitution; *Brown* defined separate facilities as inherently unequal. In *Baker* v. *Carr* the Court for the first time took jurisdiction in a reapportionment case involving differences in representation between urban and rural districts in a state legislature. It declared that legislative districts that were not as nearly equal as possible in population were a violation of the "equal protection of the laws" provision of the Fourteenth Amendment.

On the surface these two separate opinions dealt with completely unrelated questions, which both happened to involve policies adopted by state governments. In subsequent cases, however, the court system has made use of these two opinions in an effort to root out every vestige of discrimination against minority groups. But since the differences between these two topics are so great, the courts today are ordering contradictory actions by state and local governments, and even ordering certain conduct that they forbid state and local governments to practice.

In living up to the *Brown* decision, the Court has had to deal with segregation, both de facto and de jure, which has resulted in blacks' or other ethnic groups' composing the predominant population of certain parts of a city or community. In *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenberg*, decided in 1971, the Burger Court said that the existence of a few one-race schools in an area was not to be construed as proof of de jure segregation, but that the burden of proving the point rested on the school district. The Court also said that assigning racial quotas for schools was not a sound remedy for segregated schools unless a constitutional violation involving de jure segregation was present. In such cases, the Court went on to say, it would be in the power of the courts to employ, if necessary, methods that "may be administratively awkward, inconvenient, and even bizarre." The Court suggested pairing or grouping school zones and transporting students between these zones as possible methods for eliminating an illegally segregated school system.

HUD v. the Court

So busing became a permissible tool for desegregation. Although the courts continue to say it is to be used only as a last resort, it has become widespread —and extremely controversial, as has been steadily reported from Boston and Louisville. Since separate educational facilities are, it says, inherently unequal, the Court has sanctioned what is indeed an awkward, inconvenient, and bizarre cure; but these may be the only types of remedies there are, as will become plainer below.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled, in *U.S.* v. *Texas Education Agency* in 1972, that segregated schools based on housing patterns caused by past official actions was a case of double discrimination, and ordered the Austin school district to devise methods to provide for equal educational opportunity in each of its schools. It pointed out that certain communities in Austin were predominantly black, white, or Mexican-American as the result of a segregationist policy inaugurated in the 1930s by public housing authorities. However, it said, even if such housing patterns had not been the result of official action, the school board's policies on drawing attendance zones and constructing schools in these ethnic districts were in violation of the equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Neighborhood schools, then, are apparently not acceptable if the neighborhood is predominantly of one race or ethnic group whether it became that way through official action or voluntarily. However, the Supreme Court ruled recently (in *Village of Arlington Heights* v. *Metropolitan Housing Development*, decided January 11, 1977) that a community can use its zoning authority to keep out a low-income housing project—even though the housing project would have brought integration to a white neighborhood, as in this Illinois case. Plaintiffs in this suit were told they had to prove that racial discrimination was the intent or purpose of the denial of permission to build a low-income, multi-family complex within a single-family development. The Court thus appears to be willing to accept that a desire to discriminate because of race is not behind every move that may result in segregated areas; the decision probably would have been different, however, if this case had involved schools in the community.

In other words, there are some legitimate reasons for allowing a community to enforce policies that result in segregated areas, provided that discrimination is not the intent of the policy. There cannot be a school in such a community, though, if it serves only that community. And so HEW and HUD are encouraging the integration of neighborhoods so that all will contain members of as many racial and

For the past three years, Mr. Odom has been a member of the Political Science Department at Texas A&M University. In September he joined the faculty of Henderson County Junior College in Athens, Texas.

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ethnic groups as possible. Neighborhood schools then would automatically be racially balanced. That is at least clear and consistent.

But the Court is *not* encouraging such a development with its reapportionment decisions. It has moved from its original purpose of ensuring equal representation for both urban and rural populations to providing almost certain representation for blacks and Mexican-Americans by members of their own groups.

In a Texas suit challenging the use of multi-member legislative districts, a Federal District Court ruled, and was upheld in *White* v. *Regester* in 1973, that while not every racial or political group is constitutionally guaranteed the right to representation in a state's legislature, nonetheless, if the use of multi-member districts intentionally and "invidiously" excludes blacks and Mexican-Americans from "effective participation in political life," then single-member districts must be drawn that would give those groups a better chance of electing one of their own members to the state legislature. Historical dilution of minority-group votes must now be atoned for by guaranteeing those groups the capability of electing one of their own to the legislature.

Racial Gerrymandering

The Court never said gerrymandering was illegal, although the practice is widely condemned by those it has victimized. But a Federal District Court ruled that intentional racial discrimination in drawing legislative district lines is unconstitutional even if there is full compliance with the one-man/one-vote mandate (*Wolfson* v. *Nearing* 346 F Supp. 799). On March 1, 1977, the Supreme Court overruled the previous decision (with only Chief Justice Burger defending it) by upholding the admittedly race-minded creation of legislative districts in New York so that blacks would be assured of electing blacks to the legislature. This was defended as a "benign" use of discrimination to make up for invidious discrimination in the past. So now gerrymandering for racial groups, particularly blacks, has the full stamp of Court approval. Chief Justice Burger, in his dissent, attacked this practice as "racial gerrymandering" and said that it would result in moving "us one step farther away from a truly homogeneous society."

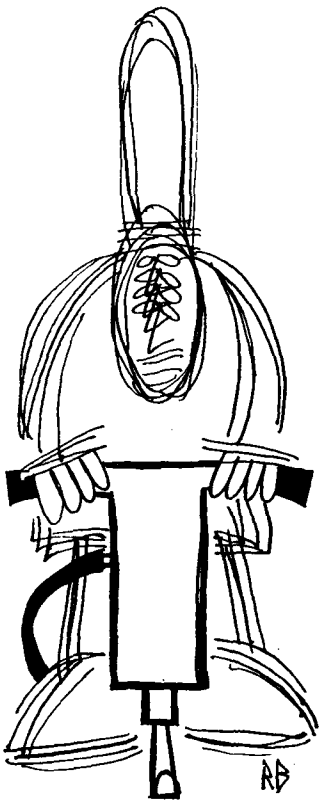
This New York case was brought by Hasidic Jews who claimed their community was split into two districts by this policy, which thereby discriminated against them. The Court denied their claim because they are white. How much farther will the Court move toward functional representation? Now blacks must be represented by blacks. Will it soon be women representing women? Irish representing Irish? Elderly representing elderly? This is a perversion of the whole idea of representation as it has been understood in this country and a clear move backward from the goals established in the judicial decisions that outlaw segregation.

More Busing

The Court has been busily trying to eliminate discrimination against blacks and other ethnic groups in education and political representation. It began by declaring that separate schools for whites and blacks were unequal no matter how equal they might be in funds, faculty, and facilities. It has authorized the use of busing to wipe out segregation caused by housing patterns and has forbidden official policies whose intentional result is segregated neighborhoods. It has appropriated the tool of reapportionment to further its efforts to eliminate discrimination against blacks by ordering discrimination in their favor. Such a policy would seem to encourage minority groups to remain in their own neighborhoods and communities in order to be able to elect a state representative or congressman who is a member of their group. In this, it looks as if the Court is allowing, in effect, the same kind of de jure neighborhood segregation it has prohibited state and local governments from practicing.

These actions, although perhaps consistent within each area, are not consistent with each other. The apportionment decisions are likely to deter minorities from moving into neighborhoods where their votes will be diluted by a white majority—which in turn would mean more busing to counteract the effects on the school systems. Americans, both black and white, may legitimately wonder if that is the wish of the Supreme Court. The whole contradictory system of interpreting the Fourteenth Amendment also gives rise to the speculation that in some Orwellian fashion all are equal in education, but in representation some are more equal than others.

Our legal system is based on the notion of deciding each case on its own merits. There can result from this approach contradictory decisions that have to be resolved by the courts themselves or by the other branches of government. Some of those other areas of contradiction, like the rights of the accused against the rights of society, while controversial, do not affect as many people as do the decisions here discussed. It is obvious that the present policies of the Court on these issues can only lead to more conflict and less movement toward the goal of an integrated society. The Court itself must stop viewing American citizens as racial or ethnic groups, must cease encouraging quota systems of any kind, and, at the same time, must permit those groups that want to preserve a separate identity to do so. That would be about as close to a guarantee of equal opportunity and maximum freedom as is possible for mere humans to achieve. □



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Stamp Act

The Lawmakers

M. STANTON EVANS

A WORD OF ADVICE if you should chance to wander up on Capitol Hill: whenever you hear the word "reform," make sure you have your money in an inside pocket.

Just recently, you may have noticed, Congress set out to reform the federal food-stamp program, on the face of it a worthy objective. Few items in the federal budget are more conclusively outrageous. In 1965, when the program was in its infancy, annual outlays totaled $35.1 million. In fiscal '76, the tab was $5.6 billion—almost two-thirds of the total budget of the Department of Agriculture (DOA), and a hike of 15,000 per cent in slightly better than a decade.

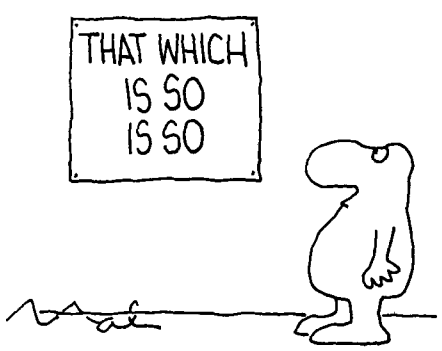
While this heroic growth rate suggests the need for reformation, other facets of the program have drawn some angry notice also. There are, for instance, the easy eligibility standards (figured from net income) permitting applicants to deduct their payments for houses, cars, day care facilities—even boats and airplanes—and wind up qualified for food stamps. College students from affluent families can qualify, as can strikers and others voluntarily unemployed. Horror stories abound of people using the federal coupons to purchase steaks, ice cream, king crab, and luxury foods in general.

Then there is explicit fraud. Food-stamp's defenses against sharpies and grifters are notoriously weak, with frequent sales of stamps for cash, outright embezzlement in certain cases, and calculated ripoffs through "dummy" recipients. In 1976, according to the DOA, 19.7 per cent of food-stamp payments went to ineligibles, with another 6.9 percentage points involved in erroneous under/overpayments. Unsurprisingly, caseloads have exploded, from 442,359 in 1965 to 18 million or so today. And more are waiting in the wings. Some 57.3 million Americans—one-quarter of the total population—could in theory qualify for food stamps.

The Department of Agriculture, meantime, has been concentrating on methods of getting food stamps out to recipients more rapidly. A recent statement from Carol Tucker Foreman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, informs us of the speed-up process, and proudly asserts that, "although food-stamp regulations require states to approve or deny a food-stamp application within thirty days, until now there has been no time limit on actually giving an eligible household this opportunity to purchase their food-stamp allotment."

If ever a scandal cried out for reform, this would seem to be the obvious candidate. Accordingly, the House and Senate have reviewed the situation and come up with a remedy. The problem here, they have concluded, is that there are not *enough* people on food stamps, and that it is *too difficult* to get them! So they have voted to knock out one of the few significant safeguards in the original legislation—the requirement that coupon recipients, above a certain income level, come up with ready cash to purchase food stamps (no more than 30 per cent of total value).

Under legislation approved before the August recess, the stamps will simply be given away—no purchase price required. The effect of this, admitted by the sponsors and widely hailed by the welfare lobbies, will be to put additional people on the rolls, in keeping with the "outreach" program of the DOA. And despite some (very) marginal efforts to tighten up the program otherwise, this crucial change will boost the annual spending totals to something upwards of $6 billion—and no doubt boost the incidence of fraud as well.



Authentic reform of the food-stamp mess, in other words, is further from reality than ever, and if the average taxpayer is ever going to have relief, it must come from some distinctly different legislation. Some worthy proposals for true reform are in the hopper, but have received short shrift from the welfare-minded leaders of the Congress. Among the best of these proposals is HR-6332, introduced by Senator John Tower (R., Tex.) and Representative Robert Michel (R., Ill.), and co-sponsored by Republican Senators Bartlett, Curtis, Hatch, and McClure, and Representatives Armstrong, Badham, Cederberg, Lagomarsino, and others.

THE TOWER-MICHEL bill would make a host of changes in the food-stamp law, of which the following seem most important: 1) establish eligibility in terms of gross income (with certain allowances), not net; 2) retain, and strengthen, the purchase requirement; 3) make strikers and college students ineligible; 4) institute a system of fraud control, including countersigned coupons and photo identification cards. All of which is simple common sense, and thus ignored by the grandees of the House and Senate.

Simpler still is HR-6818, the proposal of Representative Thomas Kindness (R., Ohio), co-sponsored by Representatives Ashbrook, Collins, Derwinski, and several others. This bill would phase out the program altogether by remanding it to the states. Kindness would substitute for food stamps a "nutrition revenue sharing" scheme, financed on a descending basis over a five-year period. The Federal Government would allocate $4.5 billion to the program in the first year, phasing down to $1 billion in the last. The states would be expected to take it from there. Perhaps in a couple of years, when we have 50 million strikers dining on king crab, Congress will wish it had paid some heed to these proposals. □

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The Crisis of Modernity

From the Continent

ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

In its heart, Europe has always been uneasy about modernity, technology, "progress"; nowadays especially, television, radio, the press, and the educational system are all helping to nurture the growing suspicion that Western civilization will soon reach the limits of its material growth. A switch in priorities from the protection of nature to the protection of man's past is taking place. Thus the designation of 1975 as Conservation Year for monuments of art all over the Continent. It was a huge success. Ancient castles were reconstructed, churches renovated, and exhibitions held from the Atlantic to the Iron Curtain. The crowds that flocked to see them were immense, and their reactions inspiring. At the end of Conservation Year, Austrians were polled as to whether the state should continue to spend tax money to restore and maintain ancient buildings. The reaction surpassed the most optimistic expectations: 95 per cent were in favor.

Another manifestation of the *Nostalgiewelle*, the wave of nostalgia, sweeping the German-speaking lands is the reprinting for the mass market of pre-World War I authors such as Courths-Mahler and Ganghofer. These names mean little to the international public (they are equivalent to, say, the as-yet-unrevived Warwick Deeping or R. M. Hutchinson in the English-speaking world), but to many readers they represent a slightly feudal *heile Welt*, the safe and sane world of yesterday.

But how are these feelings of nostalgia distributed between Right and Left? And what is one to think of the demonstrations against atomic power plants —rather tame in Austria, fairly violent in Germany and Switzerland—that have also been taking place?

One major cause of these phenomena is a matter of perception, not ideology. The skeptical and at the same time optimistic attitude that has dominated Western thought for the last century or so—the belief that man can do, produce, manage, and manipulate everything under the sun—is undergoing a crisis, as we look around and see how unattractive our future is. There are ideological reasons as well, but they are by no means unequivocal. The leftists, for instance attack technology as a manifestation of "capitalism"; they forget that pollution and the robot-like work of the assembly line are just as much a part of state-capitalism, the more accurate term for socialism. But their arguments against capitalism often coincide with conservative criticisms, chiefly because European conservatism has always had a strongly agrarian touch: the leaders were frequently large landowners, the voters came from the peasantry, and it was the free yeoman —not the bourgeois or the worker— who was praised as the ideal man. Thus one ought not to be surprised at the suggestion of Theodor Adorno (Herbert Marcuse's German counterpart), in his *Minima Moralia* (1969), that the arguments of the "reactionaries" should be put to the service of progressive enlightenment.

Strange Comrades

The question of atomic power plants is also dividing the citizenry along unusual lines. The Social Democratic and Socialist Parties in Germany and Austria are just as much in favor of them as the industrial leaders. The opposition comes from the extreme Left and from certain conservative groups. Now, this does not really support the argument of the simple-minded that extremes always meet; in these demonstrations, the two elements are fairly distinct, and they sometimes even clash. But there is a uniting bond between them, and it derives from the fact that the vast majority of present-day European "conservatives" are not conservatives at all: they are radicals or reactionaries, sometimes even revolutionaries; they say No to the status quo. And an equally strong No, though for very different reasons, comes from the extreme Left.

It might be instructive in sorting out the battle lines to look at the anti-atomic riots in Brockdorf, northern Germany. These demonstrations were geographically divided: there was a "bourgeois," civic-minded demonstration in the town and a violent one at the construction site itself, where many people, both demonstrators and policemen, were gravely wounded. How does a conservative justify his participation in such a protest? He knows that a majority of his fellow citizens are frightened by the government's warning that living standards will inevitably go down if additional sources of energy are not made available. Living standards are an object of worship; growth and progress are sacred cows. Thus he has little chance of achieving his goal peacefully.

And in the East . . .

And east of the Iron Curtain? A renascence of Russianism is taking place in the USSR—indeed, it preceded the European *Nostalgiewelle* by several years. In part it has been encouraged by the government, which has undertaken extensive restoration of historic monuments. But now prices for suspect works of literature are rising drastically on the black and grey markets. However, there are no demonstrations against atomic power there. True, civic initiatives are impossible in Russia; but in addition, Communism is a sort of religion of technology: no progress, no hope of an earthly paradise.

Returning once more to the center of Europe, Austria celebrated its 1,000th anniversary last year, together with that of the Babenberg dynasty. One of the major events—an exhibition in an ancient monastery—drew several hundred thousand visitors. This year it is the turn of two other monasteries: the Benedictine Kremsmünster, which celebrates its 1,200th anniversary, and the Augustinian Herzogenburg. Next year will see the celebration of the 700th anniversary of the beginning of the Habsburgs' rule—a dynasty reaching almost into the present. Between horror at the future and delight in the past, there is still plenty of inflammable material around, and one wonders what the respective governments are going to do about it. □

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Three Million Toothpicks

The Public Burning
By Robert Coover
Viking, 534 pp., $12.95

DONALD HALL

It has become commonplace, in recent decades, to speak of fact as outdistancing fiction. People have preferred Norman Mailer's researches to his inventions; terms like "the non-fiction novel" and "the new journalism" have codified opinion. It was only natural that fiction should counterattack, to recover lost hills and valleys, possibly even to win the war. When E. L. Doctorow's *Ragtime* introduced real characters into an imagined context—Freud, Jung, J. P. Morgan, Emma Goldman, Harry K. Thaw—fiction's troops rolled over seventy counties. Perhaps the opening salvo was John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, some years ago; but with Robert Coover's *The Public Burning*, the novel pushes the enemy back across the river, and starts shelling his capital.

Publishers were reluctant to take a chance on Coover's novel, because of the likely expenses of litigation, and the book has been gossiped about for several years without being read. Finally reading these 534 pages, one is not disappointed: *The Public Burning* is a monstrous, obscene, impossible, valuable fantasy, peopled by characters with the names of real people. One Richard Nixon, a Vice President of the United States, is narrator of much of the book. The central event is the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in Times Square. Names of police, doctors, jailers are as real as the scene is false. During the course of the novel, everyone connected with the Rosenberg case makes an appearance. So does everyone else in America, almost, including William Faulkner, who arrives at the ceremony of execution along with Bob Hope, the Marx Brothers, Fibber McGee and Molly, and Herbert Brownell.

Figures of fantasy are as absurd as figures of history: Uncle Sam's existential mode is complex—Yankee Pedlar, a shrewd public figurehead who talks a Yankeetalk as far-fetched as anything found in a London Music Hall; the Phantom—feared embodiment of the forces of evil, a.k.a. Communism; the Poet Laureate of the United States, named *Time*—given to verses like this passage about the crash of a military aircraft:

> *. . . impact which was so great*
> *that many bodies were torn*
> *from their boots*
> *they were*
> *returning to korea to defend*
> *the embittered koreans against*
> *the great conspiracy that*
> *the rosenbergs had served . . .*

Robert Coover is a novelist of obsession; he wrote about a cult in his first novel, *The Origin of the Brunists*, and about an obsessed fantasist in *The Universal Baseball Association*. Here, he is obsessive in his construction, the creator of an Eiffel Tower from three million toothpicks. The idea is short, the book is long; obsession makes the difference. An idea of absurdity glues pieces together. This Richard Nixon continually posits an absurdist politics —a created and ridiculous set of conventions which impose order on chaos —to explain and justify himself and his government. But the book's structure is not intellectual; it is comic and passionate obsession—and satire as moral and as repulsive as Swift's. Outrage is the book's method and its message. Though politics is at the heart of the satire, the burden of the novel is not political—the burden is not Nixon, or the Eisenhower years, or anti-Communism, or the Rosenbergs. The burden is human weakness, everywhere; in marriage, in public life, in journalism, in private life. And Coover's response to weakness is more misanthropy than compassion.

Show business makes the metaphorical center of the fiction, the center of our lives transformed into show business. Nixon—"the Nixon character,"

Aram Bakshian Jr.'s *reviews appear frequently in* NATIONAL REVIEW, *the* Wall Street Journal, *and* The Alternative. . . . **Donald Hall**, *a poet, lives on a farm in New Hampshire. . . .* **Forrest McDonald** *is the author of numerous books and is a professor of history at the University of Alabama. . . .* **Tony Outhwaite** *is managing editor of Horizon Press.*

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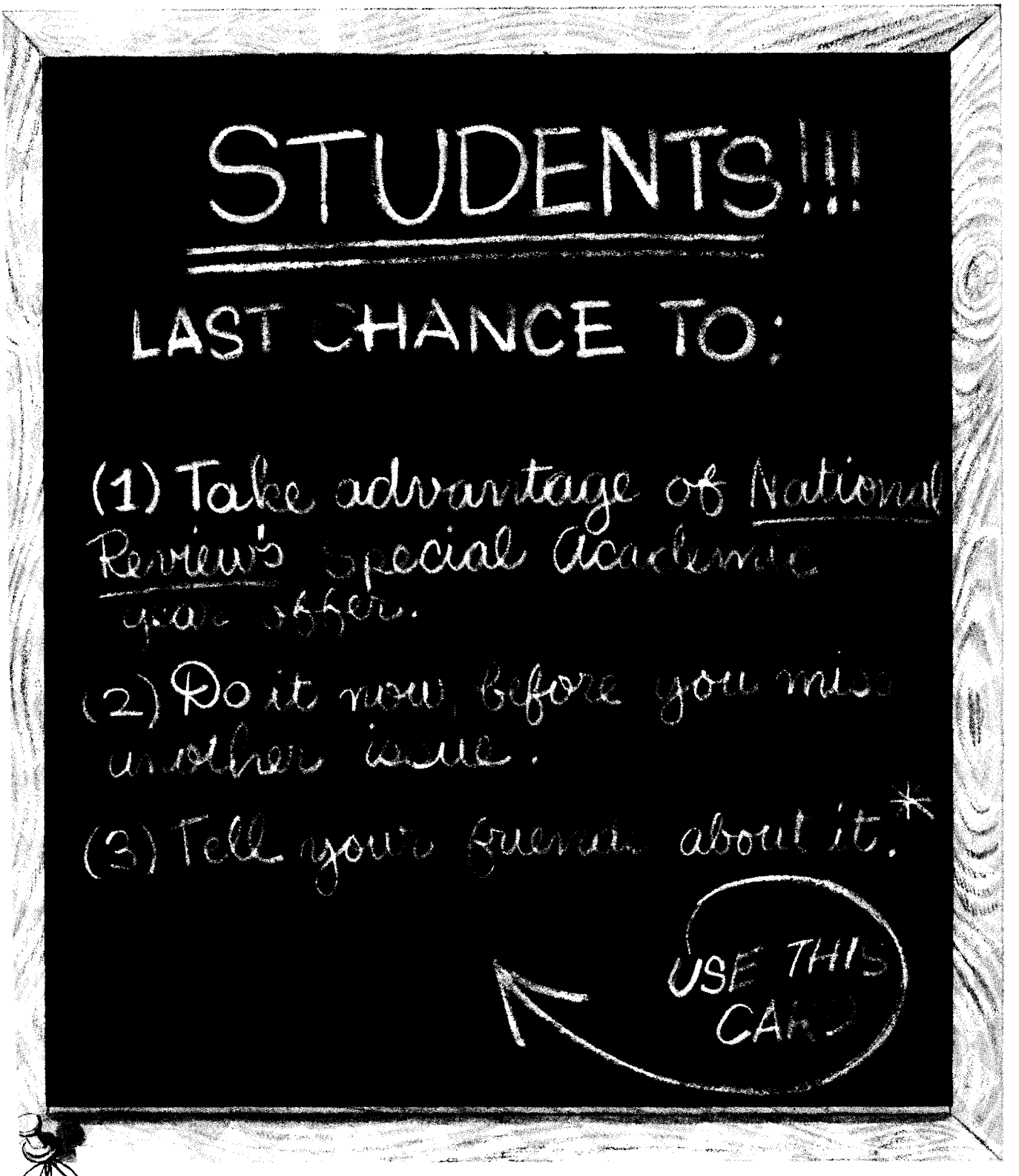
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I keep wanting to say—constantly remembers roles he took in school plays; all the other characters remember their parts in plays as well. Politics and morality are comprehended (absurdly) as *theater.*

The book recalls literary antecedents. *Ulysses,* another account of a single day, hovers not far in the background. The narrator named Nixon, who is the book's most attractive character, resembles the browbeaten Leopold Bloom. Bloom has been compared to Sancho Panza, and if one remembers Quixote, one sees that the monstrosity of Cervantes' imagination has its echo in *The Public Burning*—and Nixon is both the deluded knight and his cautious henchman. Finally, one thinks of Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet,* and of his *Dictionary of Accepted Ideas.* Nixon, along with other characters, is as expert in the assemblage of clichés and mixed metaphors as Dr. Arbuthnot or his French predecessors.

In the end, what is one to do with this book? I cannot tell if it will survive its setting. Begun before Watergate, written without reference to the disgrace of a President, it nonetheless arrives within an historical context which will recede over the years. I would like to read it again in fifty years, to see if the passion survives the outward circumstances that support it. If the novel survives, it will survive as a monster—but then, American literature is a collection of monsters. □

LITERATI

A Fine Old Conflict
By Jessica Mitford
Knopf, 333 pp., $10

A FUNERAL PARLOR RADICAL

SELDEN RODMAN

That particular one of Lord Redesdale's spirited daughters who elected to rebel against neo-fascist Farve by becoming a Communist could hardly have been expected to embrace that dismal religion without the *noblesse oblige* of a born snob. Daughters Unity and Diana, to be sure, also chose to punish Farve and Muv for their neolithic upbringing by pursuing the Real Thing—Unity by sacrificing her life to the Führer, Diana by marrying Oswald Mosley and going to jail with him for treason—but both slogged ahead doggedly without a trace of wit.

ON THE OTHER hand Nancy, who wrote the reedy swan-songs of the Cliveden Set, and Jessica, who has written this apologia for the Good Deeds of the Far Left, both happened to be endowed with a sense of the absurd. And if either Lenin or Stalin (or Hitler) had been gifted with the merest vestige of that saving grace, who can doubt that the history of our age would have stopped short of genocide? It was Jessica's ability to laugh at herself, in any event, which told her to drop the Party when Stalin's gross crimes and the first rumors of Gulag had become too notorious to be glossed over any longer. And which told her to direct her thrusts against an enemy more tangible and certainly more ludicrous than capitalism, the American funeral racket—an enemy not only too stupid to fight back effectively, but capable of being twisted into a symbol of "dying" capitalism itself.

I had misgivings about reviewing this successor to *The American Way of Death* and the earlier *Daughters and Rebels.* As a close friend of her first husband, Esmond Romilly, who was killed in the RAF over Norway in 1941, I had seen a lot of Decca in the late Thirties. We didn't get along well. She despised me as a radical who refused to accept Marxism, and I was then too self-conscious to react to her barbs with much more than uneasy laughter or silence. I despised her as a fellow-traveler who refused to see in the Moscow Trials or the Stalin-Hitler Pact the shape of things to come; or, alternatively, to join the Party, do its dirty work, and take the consequences. To review *A Fine Old Conflict* would be petty and mean. But reading the book, I changed my mind. I enjoyed it. I found a lot to praise.

From the moment she did decide to take the plunge and join the Party, there was nothing of the parlor radic in Decca. She rang doorbells, crank out protest leaflets, attended meetin no matter how long or boring, form action committees, housed poor "fun tionaries" and defended weak on Oakland, California in the Forties a Fifties was a sleazy suburb of S Francisco to which blacks from the o pressive South were fleeing by the tho sands. Prejudice in the Far West w less murderous but just as mean-sp ited. White companies and unio wouldn't give the blacks jobs; wh neighborhoods used every legal ruse deny them homes—and when th failed stoned their houses at night.

A FEW INDIVIDUALS, if it didn't thre en their employment, stepped forwa to help; but the only organization th came to the blacks' assistance was t Communist Party and its affiliat Martin Luther King Jr. had not y emerged from Atlanta. CORE a SNCC had yet to be born. T NAACP and the American Civil L erties Union held back, fearful of bei tagged with the Red label. When Wil McGee, a Mississippi black, was a cused of "raping" a white woman w had been his mistress for years a wanted vengeance because he had l her, Decca and three of her associat jumped in a car and drove to that sta stirring up enough local and Easte indignation to at least prevent a lync ing and postpone the foreordained el trocution of the poor man for th years. Physical courage as well as gru ing work went into such cases, and o can feel only shame that democra government, from the local level to t White House, left the defense of t elementary constitutional rights of poorest, most defenseless citizens to Communists.

Times changed. The Commu leadership became hopelessly sectari mobilizing its membership mainly to fend such Moscow agents as the Ros bergs, Harry Dexter White, and Al Hiss—and of course to oppose Sen McCarthy's assaults upon the fell travelers in Congress and the bure racy. This part of Jessica Mitfo book, in which she poses as a her of the Fifth Amendment, is as hy critical as Lillian Hellman's *Scoun Time,* though a lot less humorless. in the chapter in which she takes

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ish mother-in-law to London to
t the mellowing Lady Redesdale,
s admiration for the author's spirit
compassion revives again, and one
es to the conclusion that it was
ɔably her second marriage (to Rob-
Truehaft) and her admirable rela-
ship with her children that saved
from sinking into the bigoted com-
ency of her sisters.

was in Hungary in 1955 that the
ɛhafts began to have some inkling
he enormities being practiced by
Muscovite mentors. At a restau-
a waiter, obviously in terror,
ɡed them to mail a letter for him
riends in the United States. The
ɛhafts asked him naïvely if there
"some problem about mailing let-
out"! When he withdrew, "evident-
ı real distress . . . we regretfully
ded we could not perform his mis-
: what if he was a spy, an opponent
he government?" It was shortly
ward, when Soviet tanks began to
over the bodies of the Hungarian
lom-fighters in Budapest, that the
ɛhafts learned what it meant to be
opponent of the government."

is too bad that the book doesn't
with that belated discovery, and an
st facing up to its implications.
final chapter, about Jessica Mit-
s single-handed triumph over the
ır mercenaries of the funeral in-
y, though very funny in places,
s anti-climactic and a bit self-serv- □

Marble Foot, An Autobiography, 905-1938
Peter Quennell
Viking, 254 pp., $10

ʏLE AND STAMINA

.M BAKSHIAN JR.

ps the most surprising praise for
Quennell's new autobiography was
l by a septuagenarian Anglo-Ital-
esthete over tea at the London
"Really very good, Peter's *Marble*
' the old gentleman conceded be-
urning the conversation back to
rdian scandals in Tuscany and the
lillos of long-forgotten Neapoli-
inces and princesses. Considering that the aesthete in question and Peter Quennell have not been on speaking terms for about fifty years now—because of a feud that began with, of all things, a disagreement over that pathetic minor literary curiosity, William Beckford—this was a serious compliment indeed.

SERIOUS, BUT deserved. Few men have known more of the celebrated artists and authors of this century than Peter Quennell; fewer have, themselves, written with more fluency and style on a broad range of cultural themes; and perhaps none has described the ups and downs of his personal life with a more winning blend of balance, openness, insight, and humor.

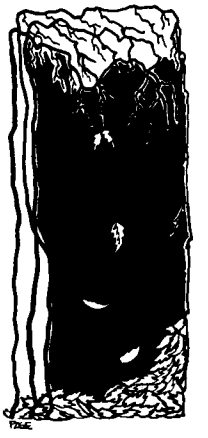
"Much of what the mind stores up is the rubbish of experience; but amid the debris certain images remain, like the marble foot planted on the flagstones of a crowded Roman street; and these significant images I have tried to link together in a continuous pictorial frieze." Thus Mr. Quennell explains his method of telling the story of his first 33 years—years that exposed him to friendship, enmity, or influence at the hands of such diversely colorful characters as Evelyn Waugh, Clive Bell, Cyril Connolly, Robert Graves, the Sitwells, Leonard Woolf, T. S. Eliot, Graham Greene, Anthony Powell, Harold Acton, and Elizabeth Arden.

While Peter Quennell's approach to the artistic life has hardly been narrow, it was refreshingly straight during an era when too much of the world of letters was dominated by the Lavender Brigade, and effeminacy was often mistaken for aesthetic sensibility. Of this, and of the particularly silly "enlightened" marital attitudes of the between-the wars smart set (attitudes which, alas, have now seeped down to many a young bourgeois couple), the author is unsparingly honest and amusing.

Writing of his own unsuccessful first marriage he tells us that

> Marriages can be talked to death. Ours suffered a slow process of conversational attrition. We were perpetually asking ourselves, and asking one another, if, in every respect, it was quite as successful as we felt it ought to be; and we had each of us consulted far too many books, usually written by Central European "sexologists" or psychoanalysts, about the problems of a happy married life and the relations of the sexes. Our approach was extremely "modern"; and, besides discussing the present state of our union, we liked to glance ahead into the future, and imagine how we should deal with such and such a crisis—for example, if either of us were to fall passionately in love—that we had not yet confronted. These solemn debates did us little real good, and our relationship some actual harm. Though jealousy, we decided, was a ridiculous failing that we must at any cost avoid, our wise decision had a very slight effect upon our subsequent behavior.

While Mr. Quennell undoubtedly did his share of drinking, wenching, agonizing, and even a cursory bit of opium-smoking along the way, his inherent grasp of reality saw him through a period that destroyed many of his most illustrious contemporaries, and has given his writing—whether it be his early Georgian poetry, his lives of Pope, Byron, Queen Caroline, and others, or his memoirs and criticism—sustained strength and soundness. If his career has not been meteoric, neither has it been ephemeral, and to visit with him at his office on the Strand, where he now edits *History Today* and still turns out a steady flow of books and reviews, is to enjoy the company of a *littérateur* of admirable stamina and style who has avoided the great pitfall of twentieth century letters: inflated "social consciousness."



This is largely due to Mr. Quennell's belief,

> a belief I have never lost—that the writer, if he deliberately espouses a cause, is bound to curtail, and perhaps distort, his vision. Some degree of engagement he obviously cannot escape, since every work that he produces must reflect his attitude toward its values; but his most effective criticisms are not expressly stated so much as subtly and quietly implied, and form part of a picture of the human condition that transcends the problems of the present day. In 1928 many young writers expressed a puritanical distaste for style . . . my main preoccupation was always with words

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and their proper literary use. It was only through evolving a style, I thought, that I could discover what I had to say, and give any discoveries I made the necessary shape and substance.

The result, this reviewer is happy to report, is a life that is well worth telling about, and an account of it that is well worth reading. Let us hope that a second volume, taking us from 1938 to the present, is not far off. □

RECONSIDERATIONS

The Rage of Edmund Burke: Portrait of an Ambivalent Conservative
By Isaac Kramnick
Basic Books, 225 pp., $12.95

WRONG END UP

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

The principle of revisionism is now well established. Harold Bloom has not only explicated it but canonized it: those who come later suffer the "anxiety of influence" and willfully "misread" their predecessors in order to make room for themselves. This is a doctrine naturally adapted not so much to the exigencies of poetic creation as to the academic imperatives of publication. Publication requires originality or, if that is too hard, at least novelty. Dr. Johnson saw it coming with Hume and Rousseau: "Truth, sir, is a cow which will yield such people no more milk, and so they are gone to milk the bull."

Which brings us to Professor (of Government, Cornell) Isaac Kramnick's *The Rage of Edmund Burke: Portrait of an Ambivalent Conservative.* The Kramnick thesis is that Burke was torn between two worlds, the old aristocratic order of the lamented "age of chivalry" and the new bourgeois world of "sophisters, economists, and calculators." The conventional wisdom is that Burke stood foursquare for the old order and hated the new with all his heart. But Kramnick argues that he was deeply "ambivalent," precisely because he was a man on the make in the new bourgeois mold, and that his attachment to the traditional orders reflected his psychic attempt to appease his conscience, which demanded the repression of just those appetites which the aggressive bourgeoisie represented (both in history and in his own imagination). Got that? It's like "aristocracy = superego" and "bourgeoisie = id." Since aristocracy also = Burke's intimidating father, there was also an "unresolved Oedipal conflict" at work, and Burke may also have been homosexual, for much the same reasons that he was a "repressive" conservative. "This new Burke," Professor Kramnick announces triumphantly, "is a much more interesting and important historical figure than the defender of the faith so venerated by generations of conservatives."

In his introduction, Kramnick cites the famous *Letter to a Noble Lord* of 1795, Burke's reply to the Jacobinical Duke of Bedford's attack on his pension from the King. Burke reminded the young Duke that he, Burke, had earned his reward by serving his cour whereas his lordship had merely herited the title awarded to an ance by Henry VIII for services rendere the sacking of church properties. T were affronted by this harsh adver to the origin of aristocratic privi from which Kramnick infers in B "the very spirit of his despised Jac and bourgeois antagonists." It show contends, that Burke was partly mated by a bourgeois preference "achieved" as against "ascribed" hereditary and unearned) status.

Conservatives will detect a fan charge here. One cannot, we are be at once a traditionalist and a tarian. Or believe at once in Ca cism and laissez-faire economics. so forth. To be (or believe) both be inconsistent—or at least (to us word Kramnick uses to death) "a alent."

In Burke's case the answer is s enough. Burke believed in a "s system," as he called it, which "leaves acquisition free" and also cures what it acquires." Capitalis

RANDOM NOTES

■ OCTOBER TITLES: Daniel Schorr's account of the circumstances leading to his leaking of the Pike Report on the CIA and his refusal to reveal his sources to the House ethics committee is to be found in *Clearing the Air* (Houghton Mifflin, $11.95). Fouling the air is more like it. . . . Marizon Marzolf's *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (Hastings House, $12.95) recounts the contributions of women to a trade that has historically been off bounds to ladies, even as it is becoming off bounds to gentlemen (see *supra*).

W. Jackson Bate's immense critical biography, *Samuel Johnson* (Harcourt Brace, $19.95), devotes as much attention to the Doctor's writings as to his conversation, so brilliantly preserved by Boswell. . . . Aleksandr Gladkov, recently deceased, was a playwright who knew Boris Pasternak intimately and transferred their conversations to his journals. Consequently his book on the Russian writer—*Meetings with Pasternak: A Memoir* (Harcourt Brace, $8.95), translated and edited by Max Hayward—is cast in the form of a diary. . . . In *Literature and Opera* (Oxford, $15.95), Gary Schmidgall tackles the fascinating subject of how composers and their librettists have reworked literary texts for the ratic stage. . . . *The Callas Legacy* (Sc ner's, $12.50) by John Ardoin is mo work of musical criticism than a biogra of Miss Callas. . . . Joseph Wechsb new musical biography is *Schubert: Life, His Works, His Time* (Rizzoli, to Dec. 1, $18.50 thereafter). Wechs is an old-fashioned musicologist, whic to say that he writes less like a poli scientist and more like a *croyante* Sc Registerite who believes in doing her for The Arts.

Loren Eiseley's last poems will be lished posthumously as *Another Kin Autumn* (Scribner's, $9.95) with wood by Walter Ferro. . . . Kim Bartlett's *Finest Kind: The Fishermen of Glouc* (Norton, $8.95) is about commercial ing done out of Gloucester, Massachus We have not yet seen it, but it could n a worthy companion to William Wan *Beautiful Swimmers* (Little, Brown, $ a study of crabs and watermen in Chesapeake Bay published last fall. William Sloane Coffin's memoir is ent *Once to Every Man* (Atheneum, $12. This seems an odd time for the for Yale chaplain and antiwar activist t looking backward. He has recently appointed pastor of the Rockefellers' silica, Riverside Church in New York so there's reason to think the worst is to come.

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d, could exist within the traditional ial framework. That he attacked dford no more proves "ambivalence" ut the legitimacy of dukedoms than nson's famous letter to Chesterfield ves that Johnson hated earls. That attacked Bedford by turning Jacoical principles around on him in no y proves that *he* adhered to those nciples: it was an argument of the ss-houses kind. Nor would Burke, a ig, mind that he had vexed the ies by so arguing.

Homosexual? Kramnick cites Burke's ndship with Will Burke (no kin), a g, close association that lasted from nemian bachelorhood to the end of ir lives. Edmund wrote Will poems mildly amorous terms and, after nund's marriage, Will lived under roof for some years. But considering ke's extraordinary fear of scandal amnick calls him "paranoid"), it is robable he would have let Will stick und had the association been perse; in fact, given Burke's turbulent, netimes disgusted and priggish feel about sex, it is highly doubtful the ndship would have lasted so long peaceably had it been erotic. *There* uld have been an "ambivalence" difIt for so explosive a man to handle! putatively amorous phrases are bably no more than the terms and ges of a psychoanalytically unselfscious era. Was David Copperfield er on Steerforth? For that matter, Donne queer on God? In the later oters we get a good deal of Freudabout "anality," so that the book ls like a report from an obsesproctologist: which would seem, for lectual purposes, to be inspecting patient from the wrong end.

RIGHT-SIDE-UP view of Burke will something more than mere negative ressiveness." Perhaps the key term Burke's language is "manners." n and again he deplores alike the oretic dogma" of revolutionaries the legalism of reactionaries; des them because, ignoring the real hments and customs of men, they e government to repression—rule heer force and terror. Hence he the loveliness of the old order, with ervasive "unbought grace of life" onizing all the diverse parts. But s like "grace" and "manners" are y in Professor Kramnick's vocabulary; he is full of the cant of "anal-sadism," "love/hate ambivalence," "identity crisis," "Oedipal conflict," and so forth; which explains why he can think his "new Burke" is "much more interesting" than that other fellow. □

The Empire of Reason: How Europe Imagined and America Realized the Enlightenment
By Henry Steele Commager
Anchor Press/Doubleday, 342 pp., $10

HIS LATEST BOOK

FORREST McDONALD

A good deal of nonsense has been written about the Age of Enlightenment, and in the preface to this latest book of his Professor Henry Steele Commager tells us why. The reason, he declares, is that we have been in the habit of viewing the phenomenon from the perspective of the twentieth century rather than that of the eighteenth. If, instead, we study it in its own terms, its significance is readily appreciated.

Would that Professor Commager had followed his own sage advice. We may confirm its wisdom for ourselves by applying it in a brief survey of the language of one of the catchier documents of the epoch, the Declaration of Independence. Let us, for example, consider that business about equality, "all men are created equal." Savants have spilled tons of ink in debating whether the Founding Fathers really meant what they said, whether the proposition is sound or half-baked, and whether as an ideal it is noble or pernicious; but every syllable and every syllogism of the argument has been irrelevant.

In context, the term "equal" had nothing to do with the idea that people were or ought to be blessed with essentially the same privileges, opportunities, worldly goods, or rights before the law. Rather, it meant that in a state of nature—which is to say in the absence of a duly recognized common authority—every man had an equal right to protect himself as best he could. The idea of a state of nature, in turn, was a useful fiction employed mainly by theorists of international law to describe one aspect of the relations between independent states; the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar and the Kingdom of France had an equal right to defend themselves against their neighbors, whatever the disparities in their capacities for doing so. That, and no more, is what the Declaration meant by the word equal; after all, what was being declared was the right of the United States to a "separate and equal" station "among the powers of the earth."

LET US PROBE a bit deeper, to that seemingly quixotic phrase "pursuit of happiness" which Jefferson inserted in place of "property" in his trinity of inalienable rights. Nowadays the phrase is translated as the right to "do your own thing." In the eighteenth century it meant almost exactly the opposite. As Vattel put it, the right to happiness, like all other rights, was reckoned as "the power of doing what is morally possible, that is to say, what is proper and consistent with duty." By studying the nature of man, one could discern one's duty, which was to obey the natural laws that led to happiness. Those laws required that one love one's country and devote oneself rigorously to being as virtuous, moral, and useful a member of society as possible. In God's infinitely perfect scheme of justice, there was a penalty for violating the laws—unhappiness; naturally.

Let us plunge even more deeply yet. There is in the Declaration the quintessential assumption of the Enlightenment, the assumption contained in the phrase "to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them." By the eighteenth century, Western intellectuals had learned from explorers a thing or two about a fraction of the planet's surface, and they had mastered a few of the elementary tricks for manipulating the forces of nature. They had also formulated some crackpot notions whose truth they regarded as unquestionable. (Most of the information in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, for instance, was misinformation, as wrong-headed as Benjamin Rush's theory that Negroes were black because they had leprosy

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and that to find a cure for leprosy would be to make all men white.)

Knowing so little, better men would have been filled with humility and awe; but the *philosophes*, filled instead with titillation over their cleverness, proclaimed that human reason was capable of comprehending everything, God included. From that arrogant, indeed blasphemous, premise, totalitarian liberalism inevitably flowed, for one who discovers the laws of God surely has the right to dictate them to less enlightened mortals for their own good. No modern Democrat could put his philosophy more eloquently than the enlightened despot of Baden, the Margrave Charles Frederick III, who vowed to teach his subjects "how to order their domestic affairs" so they might become free, opulent, and happy "whether they liked it or not." The road from Charles Frederick to John Kenneth Galbraith was straight and sure.

None of these observations, by the way, is to be found in Henry Commager's new book. I mention them here only because they seem rather more interesting than what he has to say. □

ART

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF WEIMAR

RUTH BERENSON

George Grosz's name evokes images of the ill-fated Weimar Republic as inescapably as does Bertolt Brecht or the movie *Cabaret*. Even those who never go to art galleries and whose knowledge of history is spotty have little trouble identifying those bloated, leering capitalists, begging veterans, transparently garbed prostitutes: inhabitants of the world of Left-radical clichés that he brought to life, and that have made his name synonymous with dissolute, cruel, fascinating 1920s Berlin. That there was another side to this artist (as there was, incidentally, to the Weimar Republic and to Berlin), a more humane, gentler side, and that this was coupled with a painterly ambition to rival the great masters of the past—which ambition emerged only with Grosz's emigration to the United States in 1932—had been overlooked by public and critics alike; or, if its presence has been acknowledged, it has been dismissed as an unfortunate aberration on the part of one whose talents lay in political satire alone.

Grosz spent his American years in suburban Long Island, first in Douglaston, later in Huntington, so it is fitting that Huntington's Heckscher Museum, which possesses notable examples of the artist's work, early and late, should attempt to reassess his achievement. While not ignoring the familiar Berlin period, the Heckscher concentrates on what he accomplished in America, presenting, in all, 73 oils and a sampling of the collages he made just before he died in 1958, which have only recently come to light. This show contains a large number of pictures lent by the Grosz estate, many of them never exhibited before; thus it compels even those who considered themselves familiar with all aspects of Grosz to revise or at least modify their assessment. For the general public it offers many exciting surprises.

For one thing, it has been generally thought that Grosz's style and subject matter changed radically at the time of his emigration; this change turns out to have been far less clear-cut than has been supposed. Grosz began painting those opulent, Rubensesque nudes—posed by his wife, Eva, and her sister Lotte (one of the many details, important and unimportant, that escaped Eva Ingersoll Gatling, author of the Heckscher catalogue)—not on Long Island but in his Berlin studio in 1929, when he made an (alas, unsuccessful) attempt to master Baroque compositi

Similarly, his love of landscape, f merly thought to have been awaker when he started spending summers Cape Cod, now turns out to have b stimulated by his first view of French Riviera in 1927, although two sharply contoured, near-precisi ist landscapes he painted there nothing like his sensuous interpre tions of the rolling dunes of Wellfl an amalgam of the American sense space and a European fantasy t equated the curves of the dunes w those of a woman's body.

On the whole, however, little Grosz's pre-American work prepa one for the sudden forswearing of litical satire, for the search for dee values that was his chief preoccupat in his Long Island years. From 1937 1939, he was haunted by visions of t death and destruction which became too real after 1940; from 1944 on, skeletons and "stick men" that popul his canvases seem thinly disguised legories of life under totalitariani These pictures are wholly differ from those he had made earlier; t are infused with a late Gothic extra gance derived, perhaps unconsciou from the great age of German art: wreathed skeleton on the rearing h in *I, I Was Always Present* rec Dürer's *Knight, Death, and the D* while the poisoned, decaying vegeta of *A Piece of My World* and the bombed ruins of *The Town beyond River* make Grosz seem like a twent century reincarnation of Albrecht dorfer and Matthias Grünewald.

All the while that he was recor these obsessive visions, Grosz contir turning out conventional pictures—lifes, nudes, portraits, even a Ben like rendering of Southern cotton-p ers. The many jaunty self-portraits trast with other, nightmare vision himself, like the 1937 *Remembe* in which he crouches helplessly an ruins. Few of the conventional pic are memorable; many come perile close to *Kitsch*—but as example Grosz's desire to become, as he p "a real American man," to achiev popular and financial success of *S day Evening Post* artists like No Rockwell (whom he greatly admi they are important for an unders ing of his complex personality.

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One leaves this exhibition with the npression of an artist at war not with ıe world (as might be inferred from ıe bitter indictments he produced dur-ıg his Berlin period), but with him-:lf; the phrase "identity crisis" seems, 'ith Grosz, more meaningful than it sually is. Few artists have worked in) many different styles, have at-:mpted to mine so many seemingly ontradictory veins. The brilliant, funny ollages he made in his last year, com-osed of cut-outs from slick magazines ke *Life*, are surprising anticipations of op Art—but for him, they were still ıother post-adolescent attempt at 'inding" himself. If some of these at-:mpts were failures, it yet seems clear ıat George Grosz's overall achieve-ıent, American as well as German, en-tles him to a higher place in art an-als than he has yet been accorded. 'ot at war with his time, he was very ıuch of it, and he succeeded in ren-ering its essence. □

AZZ

ACK IN THE U.S.A.

ONY OUTHWAITE

ırope has always been attractive to e black American jazz musician. Coun-es like France, Denmark, Sweden, d Germany have historically offered zz musicians steady work in a variety pleasant settings, more respect as tists and as individuals, and a more laxed social environment. Then too, ıropeans have always seemed more ceptive to jazz than the majority of e American public; an American mu-ian with any kind of reputation in s own country stands a good chance being readily welcomed as a star on e other side of the Atlantic. A prime ample is the New Orleans–born so-ano saxophonist Sidney Bechet. The tionwide celebrity he had achieved France by the time of his death in ris in 1959 was one reason for the gration of black musicians to Europe ring the Sixties.

Oddly, the lure of the Continent has en exceptionally strong for saxophon-s, and for tenor saxophonists in par-ular. Don Byas, a one-time member

of the Count Basie Orchestra who was popular on New York's 52nd Street during the early 1940s, spent most of the last 25 years of his life in Europe. Benny Waters, Johnny Griffin, Hal Singer, Lucky Thompson, and the late Ben Webster are only a few of the ther tenor saxophonists who have spent long periods of time abroad.

It is now apparent that one of the ruly noteworthy events in jazz during he past year was the dramatic return o this country of another tenor saxo-phonist, Dexter Gordon, who spent most of the period between 1962 and 976 in Copenhagen, Paris, and else-where in Europe. It is not yet certain how long the 54-year-old Gordon plans o remain here; but he has been greeted with a welcome reserved for long-lost favorite sons; with a recording contract with a major label (his Columbia al-bum, *Homecoming*, recorded live late last year at New York City's Village Vanguard, has been hotly discussed by jazz critics); and with steady work. Gordon has already completed two na-tional tours, and a third, to include New York, Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Miami, is due to begin this fall.

Gordon has undoubtedly noticed, which must be even more pleasing to him, that his particular style—a tradi-tional melodic approach which com-bines elements of Lester Young with the harder and more fiery be-bop style of the Forties, and which exerted a powerful influence on both Sonny Rol-lins and John Coltrane—is once again very much in favor with an American jazz public to whom it is perhaps more attractive than the free-form shrieks of some of the younger saxophonists.

Gordon's roots in the jazz tradition strike deep. His father was a prominent California physician whose patients during the Thirties included many fa-mous musicians, among them Lionel Hampton and Louis Armstrong. As it happens, young Gordon's first major associations were with the big bands of Hampton (from late 1940 to 1943) and Armstrong (for six months in 1944). At that point in his career, Gor-don became part of one of the most remarkable bands in jazz history: the be-bop–oriented Billy Eckstine Orches-tra, which, between 1944 and 1947, featured such soon-to-be-luminaries as Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Sarah Vaughan, Gene Ammons, Miles Davis, and Art Blakey. It was during this pe-riod that Gordon modified his Lester Young–inspired style to include the harmonic, rhythmic, and melodic com-plexities of be-bop, perhaps the only one of the many tenor saxophonists then experimenting with the new music to completely absorb it.

In several respects, Gordon is a unique musician. First, he has man-aged, during the last ten years or so, to accomplish something which has eluded countless less fortunate jazz-men: he has constructed a second, and far sturdier, career on the ruins of his first one. His popularity had diminished drastically in the late Fifties; his full-bodied sound was out of fashion, hav-ing been supplanted by the cooler, more languid West Coast jazz style. And then, to give his career what ap-peared to be the final blow, came drug addiction and the resulting indignity of several prison stretches.

But Dexter Gordon went off to Eu-rope; there, he not only put his career back together again, he deepened both his musical style and his always-formid-able sense of the dramatic, and of the-atrical rapport.

Charles Mingus and Thelonious Monk, for example, also possess this quality of suggesting that something important or unexpected is about to happen. But whereas Mingus can be brooding and unpredictable, Monk magisterial and remote, the six-foot five-inch Gordon's presentation is dif-ferent. He makes use of such standard tactics as tuning up in the rear of the

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club and starting late, pushing his way through the tables to reach the bandstand rather than using the narrow aisle along one wall of the club. At an early-July appearance at—once again—New York's Village Vanguard, he thoroughly charmed the audience with the mixture of cordiality and courtliness with which he introduced his sidemen (Ronnie Mathews, Stafford James, Louis Hayes, and, back from nearly twenty years in Europe, trumpeter Benny Bailey) and announced the tunes and their composers. In addition, Gordon has a couple of very individual, and arresting, mannerisms. Upon completing a solo, for instance, he extends his saxophone, held parallel to the floor, out toward the audience, almost as if offering a sacrifice to the gods. He then spreads his fingers, flicking them in the air like a safecracker approaching a combination lock.

One can still hear the echoes of Lester Young in Gordon's playing, but they are distant, almost muffled. His sound is the direct opposite of what fellow tenorman Willis Jackson described in a interview some years ago: "So many of these tenor saxophonists today, they have what I call a 'pea-shooter sound.' They sound like an alto; they're playing alto on the tenor." By contrast, Gordon's playing is deep, full, and slightly hollow; certain progressions of notes have a fog-horn quality to them; on ballads he sounds melancholy, almost tearful. It is highly doubtful that anyone has ever thought to accuse him of "playing alto on the tenor"; or that anyone ever will. □

The GIMLET EYE

JEWS FOR JESUS

D. KEITH MANO

Fifteen years ago I went steadily with an Orthodox Jewess. I haven't eaten meat on Friday since—and I'm not even Catholic. It was pure, stubborn self-defense: heck, she had so many outlandish laws and sub-sublaws: by comparison Christianity seemed like a short-form driver's test. We'd meet on *Shabbes* because then I could open the Marlboro pack and light her up: lighting and opening were unthinkable on *Shabbes*. When she visited my family, a kosher suitcase went along: her own food, plus pots and plates and silverware. Yahweh only knew what you might catch from a goyische saucepan. When (once, just once) I came to her home, the glasses and dishes I had instantly deblessed with my Gentile fingers were thrown out afterward. This, I thought, is some *shtarker* of a faith.

I've read the Old Testament—read *at* it often—and it's an awkward book: whole walnuts are inwardly digested with more comfort. What do you do with a God who would order death (Numbers 15:35) for the abominable sin of gathering sticks on Saturday? My girl didn't eat pork, true; the maid turned on her Friday night TV. But, man, I didn't notice concubines or animal sacrifice or heave/wave offerings. Even your orthodox of orthodox, with good domestic help, are pretty heretical when going head-on across the white line against Leviticus. Sanctity, under those circumstances, will become rather a makeshift affair. Jesus, I suspect, meant to save us both from sin and from Genesis-through-Malachi. There is no significant precept in NT that twentieth century men, with some self-restraint, can't honor. OT—shall we be frank—is the holy text of an unfinished faith: Judaism: austere, promise-forgotten, worth-measured-in-sheep-and-oxen, afterlifeless, incomplete. Being Jewish and devout must be a hard thing.

I'm dead: someone will construe that last paragraph as Anglican antisemitism. It isn't, though: I just put out front what most Christians have always been uncertain about: a religion based on holy scripture that no Jew can or would observe in full. Relativism stays modish: it's discourteous to question another man's belief. Yet, in this instance, I do question: all Christians should: their Gospel was calved from good Judaic stock. Sam Nadler, staff head of Jews for Jesus in New York, has done his own questioning. He told me: "To deny the Gospel to the Jewish people is the worst form of antisemitism. And not to tell the Jewish peopl in a way they can understand is th most subtle form of antisemitism. Non of us came to believe in Jesus becaus we hated our Jewishness, not at all. I'n proud of my Jewish background. Go asks us to be more than tolerant. Toler ation is putting up with that other per son's faiths and beliefs. Whereas—if th Gospel is true—you're not being lovin in being tolerant."

YOU MIGHT EXPECT Jews to do a thin better: even a Christian thing. Thei broadside handouts—witty, cheerful engrossing, easy-sell—are the bes Christian evangelical literature I've eve seen: by three touchdowns and a fiel goal. "The American Tract Society ha bought lots of our material. They sa our broadsides get the largest respons of anything that they have. We try t be timely. When the blackout occurre we had five thousand broadside ["Where Were You When . . .?"] on th streets before the lights were back o in Manhattan." There are only eigh paid staffers here (eighty nationwid home headquarters is on the Coas where JFJ founder Moishe Rosen hang out). Yet during one five-week perio 35 Hebrew Christian volunteers distrit uted over a million broadsides in Ne York. That's boarding-house outreac

Not without *tsuris*. The week befor a Boston JFJ group got facial lacer tions and one dislocated shoulder i trade for their Christian witness. "W have something to displease everybod But understand what my people fe about this Jesus business. To the Jev in Germany, the Nazis were basical seen in a Christian sense. It was call a Christian country. We're strongly pr Israel because we feel our God uphol Israel." This doesn't appease the u friendly JDL. And JFJ affects yo standard rabbi the way a Teflon ma zoh-ball would. "See this article: 'Th Jews for Jesus Are Out to Get Yo Kids.' In fact it's our policy not share our ministry with children und 18 without their parents' express co sent. As for worship, we attend diffe ent congregations: Baptist, Lutheran- some of us still attend synagogue. We' closer to first century Christians. S Paul said, 'I am a Jew from Tarsu not, I am an ex-Jew from Tarsus. O message is simple: that Jesus is the fu fillment of the Old Testament promis

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There's a word in Yiddish, *menschkeit*. t has given me *menschkeit*, it has made ne an authentic person."

You'd guess, wouldn't you, that JFJ cores best with the nominal Jew. Wrong again. Surveys by the Graduate Theological Union Library, Berkeley, compared past JFJ affiliation with an urban (Pittsburgh) average:

Affiliation	JFJ	Average
Reform	37.6%	34.7%
Conservative	34.0%	39.4%
Orthodox	15.1%	14.1%
Just Jewish	12.8%	10.1%

Damn close. JFJ doesn't zoom in on nixed homes or on those with ambivaent Jewish identity. Since 1970, Nadler would estimate, thirty thousand Jews ave accepted Jesus. In pagan New ork City, where Christian book pubishers don't even trouble to maintain sales force, I daresay JFJ has done ore for the Word than any three hurch organizations.

Me, I've had it to here with Episcopal ard-heelers: the Episcopal Church peaks for Christ less often than a UPI cker. In my Newman years I thought oldly about going AWOL Catholicays. But Catholicism converted to Initarianism-with-a-pope or something efore I could convert to it. Now what might do, see: I might become a Jew. hen join Jews for Jesus. If the convert more zealous, as they say, imagine hat energy a double convert could ush up. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

BÉLA BARTÓK ESSAYS, *edited by Benjamin Suchoff (St. Martin's, 567 pp., $75)*. Better an any other major creative figure of is century, the Hungarian composer Béla artók symbolizes the tragic dilemma of odern art: how to carry the increasingly eavy burden of Western creativity one ep further without debasing its traditional novative thrust, and without at the same me sacrificing the major artist's ambition communicate with an audience broader an that of his professional peers. To the mposers of Bartók's generation—those ho came of age between 1910 and 1930 -it was abundantly clear that the Wagner- solution to this problem had run its ourse; Bruckner, Mahler, and Richard rauss had carried diatonic chromaticism far as it could go in the heroic mode, and Debussy's withdrawal into the intimate poetry of tone color could lead only to preciosity. There seemed to be just two roads of escape. One was to pursue the atonalism of Schönberg and Webern to the bitter end, renouncing the larger audience altogether. The other was to seek a new beginning in the pentatonic mode of pure folk music pre-dating Bach, and it was this way that Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, and a few others chose. This book is the record of that decision, and it is a pity that it couldn't have been published for that larger audience that Bartók sought. Composed of essays, speeches, and book reviews written throughout Bartók's life, it is terribly repetitious, and is loaded with formal tributes, ephemeral polemics, and musical scores of interest only to professional musicians and musicologists. The book could easily have been edited down to one-tenth of its length, one-tenth of its musical quotations, and one-tenth of its price. And what a service that would have been! For there are riches in this book that the public would find fascinating and the composers of the future—if music has any future of the sort that Bartók envis-

oned—invaluable. There is first of all the heroic saga of Bartók's search for new musical roots. Joined by Kodály and a very few others, Bartók crisscrossed Central Europe, the Balkans, and Turkey for long years of patient research, separating what had long been debased (including the "gypsy music" Liszt and Brahms had used in their rhapsodies) from those chants still remembered by the most venerable peasants in the remotest hamlets. Had Bartók done nothing else in his life, we would still have him to thank for having thus saved at the last possible moment a corpus of music more perfect in its simplicity than any but that of the greatest masters. More controversial is the question of how much benefit Bartók and Kodály derived from this music in the creation of their own styles. But there is no doubt that they used this new material as modal inspiration rather than as a mere source of themes and allusions. Although Bartók does not discuss Haydn's use of folk material, which prepared for the migration of the classical style from the aristocratic drawing room to the concert hall and the opera stage, he does hint at the potential enrichment of all the arts by a return to folk basics in a paper in which he deplores the rootless formalism of Mondrian. Incidental treasures to be dug out of this sprawling, repetitive trove are Bartók's footnote to that pioneer folkist, Moussorgsky; his perception of what happened to Stravinsky's music after he abandoned peasant material; a piece on the advantages of playing old-instrument scores on the modern piano; a terrible indictment of the Communist dictatorship for bringing about the death of music in Hungary; and a most moving tribute to the genius behind the charlatan in Franz Liszt. SELDEN RODMAN

A FEAST OF WORDS: *The Triumph of Edith Wharton, by Cynthia Griffin Wolff (Oxford, 453 pp., $15.95)*. Professor Wolff's task is to explain the emotional realities which lay behind Mrs. Wharton's largely barren and unhappy (though luxurious) personal life and the compensating rewards of her artistic success. She does this sympathetically, almost aggressively, through observation and surmise drawn from contemporary standards of child behavior. But she is obliged to rely in the main on Mrs. Wharton's own super-discreet autobiography, so guesswork is unavoidable, and there is that familiar scrutiny of photographs which is so often substituted for hard evidence: in one photo, for example, there is "a great sadness" in young Edith's eyes. The novelist, she concludes, found her talent imprisoned in a brier-patch of Victorian repression, an experience which kindled a life-long vengeful rage against the social cruelties of old New York. "Well?" the reader can echo: artistic tension has to come from somewhere, and if in this case it was her childhood background that induced her to escape from spiritual brutality through "a feast of words" (Professor Wolff's phrase), that is not so extraordinary. Professor Wolff, like Professor Lewis before her, fails to appreciate the period or the milieu fully, although she is more sensitive to it than he. She would have Edith Wharton play the role of artistic victim, and therefore heroine, of the historic feminine ordeal. While Mrs. Wharton cared intensely for her artistic success, it was only one element, albeit the preponderant one, in her glamor: a glamor that also rested on her social and cultural (though not literary) taste, her magnificent education, her intellectual snobbery, and her aristocratic manners. These things are not easily turned up by archival research. *A propos*, Professor Wolff adopts the current "feminist" style of referring to Edith Wharton as plain Wharton. This is acceptable except in the passages dealing with her and her husband, Edward, known as Teddy, when it becomes ludicrous: Wolff refers to the couple as "Teddy" and "Wharton." Mrs. Wharton would have enjoyed telling her circle about that one. NICHOLAS KING

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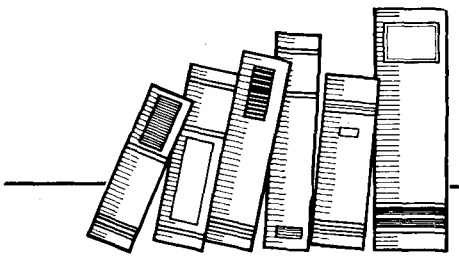

Dark Horses

SOME ISSUES back [Feb. 18, 1977], I noted that the struggle for the world was being waged in Africa, but that nobody in the United States was paying much attention. In the intervening months, the situation hasn't changed—except that the struggle has become increasingly intense and that American policy, if anything, has become more addled.

The importance of Africa to the West, and its status as the major target of present Soviet strategy, are discussed by Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham (U.S. Army, Retired) in *The Crisis in Africa*, a penetrating monograph brought out by the Center for Advanced International Studies of the University of Miami (1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $2). By copious citation from Communist sources, General Graham, an intelligence specialist, makes it plain that the Soviets mean to secure the mineral treasures of the continent for themselves or, at a minimum, deny them to the United States.

How valuable these treasures are may be gleaned from a scholarly survey by another former intelligence officer, Lieutenant General William P. Yarborough (*Trial in Africa*, Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; $3). Yarborough stresses not only the enormous mineral wealth of Africa but its command of sea lanes vital to the West. He also provides historical data showing that "majority rule"—the supposed be-all and end-all of the current turmoil—has never been practiced on the continent and will certainly be honored in the breach if the guerrilla forces assaulting Rhodesia and South Africa contrive to get in power.

The careful design of the Communist plan for conquest is detailed at length in a symposium entitled *Sino-Soviet Intervention in Africa*, published by the Council on American Affairs (1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $5). Editor Roger Pearson and contributors including Senators Dewey Bartlett and Jame McClure, Representative Larry Mc Donald, Walter Darnell Jacobs, Alvi Cottrell, Howard Segemark, Pete Vanneman, and Martin James explai the persistence and audacity of th Communist enterprise.

Here are displayed the countless So viet maneuvers on the continent, th deals with African satraps considere friendly to the cause, the swarmin presence of the Cuban mercenaries, an the Marxist fanaticism of the so-calle "liberation" forces in Angola and Mo zambique, the ZAPU-ZANU terrorist battering Rhodesia, and the SWAP cadres invading South-West Africa. A armed, of course, with Soviet weapons

WHILE ALL THIS is occurring, the of ficial thrust of *American* policy is t furnish moral (and material) suppor to the Marxist elements, and to assi in crushing the few remaining ant Communist outposts, most notabl Rhodesia. The tragic lunacy of Ame ican conduct on this score is suggeste by a second volume from the Counc on American Affairs, *Rhodesia Alon* ($5). Edited by Professor James I Dornan Jr. of Catholic University, th volume includes informative essays b Representative Philip Crane, John Tierney Jr., L. H. Gann, and noveli Robin Moore.

Rhodesia Alone provides a wealth data on its subject, of which the follo ing are samples: 1) the present gover ment of Rhodesia is incomparably mo democratic than any government a tacking it, including as it does a b racial franchise and substantial repr sentation for blacks in both the hous of its legislature; 2) the fighting Rhodesia is not an internal uprising b indigenous blacks but an armed i vasion from without; 3) the "liber tion" forces we have been encouragi are Marxist terrorists whose *modus o erandi* is indiscriminate torture a murder of civilians, and whose victi are overwhelmingly black, not white.

—M. STANTON EVA

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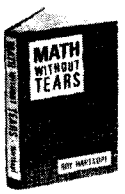

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

HERMANN GMEINER:

On Children

Our world is worthy of love i spite of wars, . . . disease, hun ger, and misery. It is worthy o love because there are childre living in it; small children an big children, good children an naughty children, white childrer and black children. . . . Childre bring light and joy into th world. (Herr Gmeiner founde the S.O.S. Children's Villages.

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ARKES

(Continued from page 1110)

eputy from Milan, had been shot in e legs by a contingent of the Red rigades.) In the light of all this—with e knowledge of the serious risks they ere courting by persisting in their pub- opposition—their willingness to per- st demonstrated a measure of courage at is not ordinarily demanded in merican politics. Not everyone at the nference was an Italian politician or urnalist, but the American scholars so knew what the Italians knew; and ese two groups composed the audi- ce that Henry Kissinger addressed in e conference's culminating moment.

limax

It must stand as an irony that one of issinger's most telling performances as statesman should come in this speech, livered when he was out of office. it Kissinger was free now to set out s argument more fully and explicitly an he had in the past, when he was strained by the prudence required in gh office, and the speech had a pro- unced effect on the Italian press.

He recalled that the Italian Commu- ts were not the first to speak of sep- ate national roads to socialism. In a ing of questions he cited comparable tements made by Communist leaders Poland, Hungary, Germany, Bul- ia, and Czechoslovakia *in the mid-40s*. But Kissinger hit with special ce when he began to lay out, in de- l, the consequences that would arise the Western alliance if Communists peared in the government of Italy. rlier in the day Signor Libertini had ured his listeners that the Commu- t Party supported NATO for the sake preserving the balance of power in world, which in turn preserves de- te. Thus the commitment to NATO, his own accounting, was instru- ntal rather than principled. The PCI, ertini told the conference, does "not h to be either anti-Russian or anti- erican."

But to say that there is no principled nmitment to NATO is to say, in ef- t, that there is no ground of princi- that ties the PCI to the West more nly than it is tied to the Soviet Un- . It fell to Kissinger to point out e again—in case the lesson had been sed—that NATO was, after all, an anti-Soviet organization. There have been enough problems in recent years from the friends of democracy who have tired of committing troops to Western Europe. So why should one expect more support for NATO from the friends of the Soviet Union? Why should they not be quite as willing to cut back funds and see NATO atrophy? Could one expect them to collaborate fully in countering the interests of the Soviet Union in Africa and the Middle East, to say nothing of facing down the Soviets in Europe itself?

With all its talk about "human rights," the Carter Administration seems to overlook the understanding that has informed American foreign policy since the end of the Second World War: that the containment of Communist regimes works to preserve the possibilities of human freedom in the world. Kissinger put it more directly: The Administration has spoken of human rights, he said, but it has not shown a matching concern for those concrete structures that are necessary, militarily and politically, to the preservation of free governments. Despite its protestations to the contrary, the Administration reveals that neglect when, in the rush to exhibit a new style, it takes a position of detachment toward the prospect of Communists entering the governments of Italy and France.

Kissinger did not deny that, in its formal statements, the Administration has conveyed no benign acceptance of the Communists in Italy and France. What he was concerned about, rather, was that an "unambiguous U.S. attitude" be preserved; and, in the private signals it has been emitting to the Left overseas, the Administration has been anything but unambiguous.

Kissinger brought the meeting to a culmination more serious than anything one typically finds at meetings of scholars, and there was a certain charge in the air that has not been common in rooms in Washington for many years. The Communists may end up in the government of Italy after all. But for the moment at least the sense of the inevitable had lifted and it had lifted in large part because of the opposition that had been sustained by people in that room. If they were not to be cozened or deflected from their concerns, it was because their judgments were grounded, as they knew, in understandings they did not invent and which they were powerless to efface. □

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Panama—Sí

On The Right

New York, Aug. 22—So far as one can judge (before the text of the proposed treaty and its surrounding protocols has been released) there is only one substantive objection to it, and that is its provenance. Mr. Ronald Reagan is targeted for special disdain by the lobbyists for the new treaty because they view his arguments as simplistic, amounting to nothing more than warmed-over chauvinism. In fact his objections are shared by critics whose turn of mind is not that of, say, the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Mr. Herman Phleger, one of the most distinguished lawyers in the country, legal advisor to the Department of State under President Eisenhower, and architect of the far-seeing, far-reaching Antarctic Treaty, heatedly denounces the new Panama Treaty —on the same ground as Reagan, namely: the United States negotiated under duress.

The other arguments against revising the Treaty are frail. It is conceded by our military that the Panama Canal is simply not defensible against sabotage or missile-bombing. Efforts to protect it against sabotage would need the cooperation of the Panamanians themselves—and even then, an enterprising saboteur could conceivably put the Canal out of action for a while.

The defense of the Canal, to the extent it is possible to defend it, is by guarding the sea and air approaches to it. This we have done, this the Panamanian government is prepared in a separate protocol to charge us to continue to do; and this we can do under our own initiative after the turn of the century when the Canal is turned over fully to the Panamanians.

Respecting the economic point, the Panamanians undertake to guarantee passage to all shipping at non-discriminatory rates. As to the subsidy, we commit ourselves to a yearly $50-million rental, which is reasonable, plus an unspecified jolt of economic aid to the new operators—which is not unreasonable. Our principal moral obligation, in economic terms, is to provide a comfortable transition for the American Zonians into other jobs in American installations as their number is gradually reduced in the Zone.

Now to the Reagan-Phleger position: It is correct that one's instinct is to resent bargaining under duress. Especially so in the current situation inasmuch as the Panamanians, rather than merely asking the United States kindly to reconsider arrangements entered into in 1903 with less than a scrupulous regard for the presumptions of nationhood, launched a sloppy, eristic campaign to discredit the plain fact that the United States exercises sovereign rights over the Canal Zone. It is much easier to give something up to people who ask for it than to people who tell you it isn't really yours to give up.

But the point (I have stressed it before) is that it is becoming to a mature and self-confident nation to waive, where it is appropriate to do so, such formal considerations. Even if we grant (as I do), that our title to the Panama Canal is morally and historically secure, there is no reason to fail to understand Panamanian resentment. Even if we had in our hand a record that showed that every Panamanian in 1903 had voted to grant the U.S. in perpetuity the rights we have enjoyed in the area, still there is the shifting perspective between what was permissible and even welcome in 1903, and what is permissible and welcome in 1977.

IT IS FASHIONABLE beyond the limits of common sense to deplore the colonialism of ages past. My own notion is that colonialism was far preferable to much that now goes on. But our colonial obligations in Panama haven't done very much for the people there. They live, for the most part unhappily, under a dictator who deals calmly with dissidents by imprisoning them, exiling them, and confiscating their property. We do not even have the excuse, in Panama, that we have succeeded in keeping such as Torrijos from coming to power. No, we concern ourselves only with the Canal Zone.

But now that the military inform us that our presence in the Zone is unnecessary to such security as is achievable, the reasons for staying reduce merely to the question: Are we going to satisfy our pride by rejecting demands of Panamanians which are anti-historical?

That would not appear to make sense. It is as much United States policy to avoid involving itself unnecessarily in the affa of other countries as at the turn of t century it was American policy to invol ourselves, with Wilsonian exuberance, these matters. The Canal's military a economic importance to us is slight; operation is a net economic drain; we ha retained the right to deploy our milita in such a way as to discharge responsib ties of primary interest to our La American neighbors. We should be lar enough, as we were in the Philippines, walk out, with true self-confidence.

THE MILITARY PROTECTORS

New York, Aug. —Mr. Ronald R gan has referred p licly to a presu ably private letter addressed to Presid Carter by four distinguished retired m tary men, all of them former Chiefs Naval Operations: Arleigh Burke, Thon Moorer, Robert Carney, and Geo Anderson. These gentlemen argued favor of retaining "sovereignty and ju diction" over the Canal Zone on grounds that we are thus offered "the portunity to use the waterway or to d its use to others in wartime."

But it would appear that you hav confusion of arguments here, de facto de jure. In wartime, a government d what is necessary to protect its vital terests. It is to some extent influenced what it will do by the cost of the projec operation, and by the political co quences of undertaking it. For insta when Germany and Great Britain wen war in 1939, the Nazis specified a sea l which United States shipping bound England would have to confine itself Ships outside that lane would automa ally be sunk, said the Germans. T would learn that to say this to the Un States is not quite the same thing as ing it, let us say, to Mexico.

On the other hand, the Germans had a canal. It was called the Ka Wilhelm Kanal and, cutting through f the North Sea to the Baltic, it eliminate five-hundred-mile detour around Denm During the First World War, as one wo expect, the Germans closed it to o

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than friendly traffic. As a result, the Versailles Treaty "internationalized" the canal, renamed it, simply, the Kiel Canal, and, what ho, in 1936, not even waiting for war, Hitler simply repudiated the treaty unilaterally and dealt with the canal as his very own. They call that force majeure.

Well, in this part of the world force majeure is what we have got, if we want to use it. Under the proposed treaty (as we have been given to believe) we would have de jure rights to intervene in the event the Panama Canal were being denied to us, or for that matter to anyone else. In a wartime situation we would calmly decide whether to permit the Canal to act as a waterway for enemy traffic, and if we decided negatively, who would say us nay? The President of Panama? The World Court?

Our superintendence in these matters will depend on two things: 1) our military strength; and 2) our disposition to use our military strength. The notion that in wartime our juridical standing in the Panama Canal Zone means anything at all is quite simply naïve, and no one should understand that better than professional military men. If we are saddled, in time of war, with a President of the United States who declines to stop enemy ships from gamboling through the Canal the better to bomb or blockade our cities, we're going to lose that war *whatever* happens to the Panama Canal.

It is reasonable to reflect that the tyrannization of the military by the commander-in-chief brings on sycophancy. That, therefore, one should not jump to conclusions based on what the men who hold their offices at the pleasure of the President are saying about the Panama Canal. But after all, if it were so obvious that the four retired admirals were correct, and that their counterparts in office were incorrect in assuring us that we do not need more in the Panama area than the Treaty is in fact giving us, then our chiefs of staff are being charged with preferring their positions over the safety of the United States. One is reluctant to come to that conclusion.

Nor is it necessary to go through Annapolis or West Point or to serve thirty years in active service to recognize the salient military points: 1) the Canal as a commercial enterprise is under the control of whoever controls the access points to it, and that is now done by the United States Navy and Air Force. The other point is, 2) any power that could remotely threaten the United States is in a position to close the Canal, and there is nothing we can do to prevent this happening.

Add to this point a qualifier: Although Panama is not in a position to threaten the United States, it is in a position by sabotage to close the Canal. It is unlikely to want to do so under any circumstances. It is much less likely to want to do so if the Panamanian flag, rather than our own, flies over the territory. □

PANAMA: WHO STARTED IT?

New York, Aug. 24—Seven leaders of Young Americans for Freedom, questioned on the opposition of their organization to the new Panama Canal Treaty so firmly registered at their biennial convention in New York last week, seemed to agree on one point which, I think, will prove critical in the discussions ahead. They were asked: "If the revised Treaty had resulted from an American initiative rather than a Panamanian initiative, would you alter your position on it?" Most seemed to agree that they would. That is to say that other considerations were relatively insignificant by comparison: considerations arising out of the economic cost to us of the Canal, and the residual military situation. What matters most is the symbolic act: We are being pushed around.

The figure of General Omar Torrijos has a prominent place in this act of international theater. He is out of Central Casting as the Guy We Would Least Like to Do a Favor For. He is an unsmiling left-wing tyrant who has expressed admiration for such characters as Fidel Castro and the mad Qaddafi of Libya. He is a specialist, at home, in obliterating the opposition, whom he dispatches by the neat expedient of taking their property and booting them out of the country.

If the leader of Panama were the man who serves as its President, Demetrio Lakas, rather than Torrijos the Caudillo, the situation would very likely change substantially. President Lakas was educated in Texas, speaks as idiomatically as Lyndon Johnson and almost as colorfully, and positively brims over with pro-Americanism and a deep distrust for Communism and its evil deeds. Ask not why therefore he associates himself with Torrijos. That is the way in Spanish politics, and the way, if less so, in non-Spanish politics—not everybody associated with Hitler was evil.

But here is a point that ought to be considered. The protests against American occupation of the Canal Zone antedated the ascendancy of Torrijos. It is certainly true that Torrijos has continually identified himself with the anti-Canal rioting. It is not true, though, that he instigated that rioting (in 1964 he was an insignificant military officer). Nor is it true that his own tyrannical habits and his own ideological predilections have anything to do with the feeling of the Panamanian people toward the Canal Zone. If Panama were led by Pericles, the popular fever about the Canal Zone would be unchanged; and why not?

It simply isn't the way it happens that the overlord always thinks first about the happiness of his subjects. They need to express themselves. There are civilized ways to do this, and it is lamentably true that in many instances these are not heeded.

Within a country there are grounds for being especially strict in discouraging civil disobedience. As between countries, particularly where there is a volatile tradition, it doesn't always go that way, and we are no exception. When we felt ourselves maltreated by the British, we engaged in acts of sedition against the Crown at least the equivalent of the riots engaged in by the Panamanians. American non-jingoists (and that ought to embrace all American conservatives) are required to ask themselves the question: How would we, if we were Panamanians, express ourselves in the matter of the Canal?

Now, Panamanian resentment of U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone is no more an argument for U.S. evacuation, than Cuban resentment of the occupation of Guantanamo is an automatic argument for U.S. evacuation, or Japanese resentment of the occupation of Okinawa an automatic argument for U.S. evacuation. What it is is a single factor. But it is no less a factor because that indignation brought on discussions between representatives of Panama and representatives of the United States: yet it is this point that Governor Ronald Reagan continues to stress.

The United States' presumption should always be that we do not want to remain where we are not wanted, but will do so if considerations of national security require it. And considerations of national security not only do not require our presence in the Panama Canal under the present arrangements, they argue against it. The reason for that, tirelessly put forward, is that the Canal is at the margin indefensible. But the chances of defending it against sabotage are greatly increased with the cooperation of Panamanians.

We should, then, be as angry at the Panamanians who assaulted the Zone in 1964 as we are at our forefathers for harassing the British in Boston two hundred years ago. There is no reason to deny others those urges we feel so strongly in ourselves. Ours must be the cool, deciding voice. But it must not be governed by petulant considerations. □

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Where John Johnson from Wisconsin worked — 21 101 85 15 26 52 149 167 183 5

B. TOE DANCE — 40 67 76 48 159 60 45 175

C. Item used for sharpening edge tools — 62 130 177 97 170 74 193 7 184

D. One of Verdi's operas — 77 80 24 86 103 191 8 186 91

E. Another word for extortion — 84 168 63 73 137 104 125 50

F. Goal the Alabama team refused to defend — 96 113 109 51 36

G. A type of drop — 105 53 123 133 75

H. Power forcefully exerted — 115 164 56 152 29 47

I. Unjust — 3 19 22 32 68 2 43 54

J. A city on the Fox River, in Illinois — 143 111 33 66 120

K. He and his two sons really did see snakes — 148 117 30 9 122 151 158

L. World Series loser played BADLY WEEK LONG — 153 179 95 25 55 4 72 121 145 161 / 83 81 108

M. A sunken space affording access, air, and light to a basement — 157 197 39 139 127 141 162

N. Where law students argue hypothetical cases — 61 187 171 69 41 49 194 27 134

O. A tenth of a homer (the ancient Hebrews had a metric system!) (not 36'!) — 14 160 98 37 65

P. Senator *elected* to succeed John C. Calhoun (after two appointments) — 87 10 78 34 118

Q. HOG REPAID — 131 57 88 70 156 142 11 100 138

R. Slang for a helicopter — 192 174 135 106 114 94 144

S. At all (*adverb*) — 146 71 198 173 190 31 136 165

T. A large city in Virginia — 44 20 79 92 110 116 124 132 169 150 / 185

U. To resort to expedients — 64 181 119 58 166

V. A type of mushroom — 89 172 17 126 102 128 112 147

W. A charge for borrowed money — 163 12 189 16 59 90 129 196

X. Material for a housetop — 176 35 42 188 154 140 13

Y. Silly — 178 155 107 195 182

Z. A place made famous by its trolley — 180 6 18 23 28 46 38 1 82 93 / 99

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1130 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

		1 Z	2 I		3 I	4 L		5 A	6 Z	7 C	8 D		9 K	10 P	11 Q	12 W	13 X	14 O
	15 A	16 W	17 V	18 Z	19 I	20 T		21 A	22 I	23 Z	24 D		25 L	26 A	27 N	28 Z		29 H
30 K	31 S	32 I	33 J		34 P	35 X		36 F	37 O	38 Z	39 M		40 B		41 N	42 X	43 I	44 T
45 B	46 Z	47 H		48 B	49 N	50 E	51 F	52 A	53 G	54 I	55 L	56 H	57 Q		58 U	59 W	60 B	61 N
	62 C	63 E	64 U	65 O	66 J	67 B	68 I	69 N	70 Q	71 S		72 L		73 E		74 C	75 G	76 B
77 D	78 P		79 T	80 D	81 L	82 Z		83 L	84 E		85 A	86 D	87 P	88 Q		89 V	90 W	91 D
92 T	93 Z	94 R		95 L	96 F		97 C	98 O	99 Z		100Q	101A	102V	103D	104E	105G		106R
107Y	108L	109F	110T	111J	112V		113F	114R	115H	116T	117K	118P	119U	120J	121L		122K	123G
124T		125E	126V		127M	128V	129W	130C	131Q	132P	133G	134N	135R	136S		137E	138Q	139M
140X		141M	142Q	143J		144R	145L	146S	147V	148K	149A		150T	151K	152H	153L	154X	155Y
156Q		157M	158K	159B		160Q	161L	162M	163W	164H	165S		166U	167A	168E	169T	170C	
171N	172V	173S		174R	175B	176X	177C		178Y	179L		180Z	181U	182Y		183A	184C	185T
186D		187N	188X		189W	190S	191D	192P	192R	193C	194N	195Y	196W	197M	198S			

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The Ultimate Tax Shelter

by
TED NICHOLAS

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I've written a book showing how you can form your own corporation. I've taken all the mystery out of it. Thousands of people have already used the system for incorporation described in the book. I'll describe how you may obtain it without risk and with a valuable free bonus.

A corporation can be formed by anyone at surprisingly low cost. And the government encourages people to incorporate, which is a little known fact. The government has recognized the important role of small business in our country. Through favorable legislation incorporating a small business, hobby, or sideline is perfectly legal and ethical. There are numerous tax laws favorable to corporate owners. Some of them are remarkable in this age of ever-increasing taxation. Everyone of us needs all the tax shelter we can get!

Here are just a few of the advantages of having my book on incorporating. You can limit your personal liability. All that is at stake is the money you have invested. This amount can be zero to a few hundred or even a few thousand dollars. Your home, furniture, car, savings, or other possessions are not at risk. You can raise capital and still keep control of your business. You can put aside up to 25% of your income tax free. If you desire, you may wish to set up a non-profit corporation or operate a corporation anonymously. You will save from $300 to $1,000 simply by using the handy tear-out forms included in the book. All the things you need: certificate of incorporation, minutes, by-laws, etc., including complete instructions.

There are still other advantages. Your own corporation enables you to more easily maintain continuity and facilitate transfer of ownership. Tax free fringe benefits can be arranged. You can set up your health and life insurance and other programs for you and your family wherein they are tax deductible. Another very important option available to you through incorporation is a medical reimbursement plan (MRP). Under an MRP, all medical, dental, pharmaceutical expenses for you and your family can become tax deductible to the corporation. An unincorporated person must exclude the first 3% of family's medical expenses from a personal tax return. For an individual earning $20,000 the first $600 are not deductible.

Retirement plans, and pension and profit-sharing arrangements can be set up for you with far greater benefits than those available to self-employed individuals.

A word of caution. Incorporating may not be for you right now. However, my book will help you decide whether or not a corporation is for you now or in the future. I review all the advantages and disadvantages in depth. This choice is yours after learning all the options. If you do decide to incorporate, it can be done by mail quickly and within 48 hours. You never have to leave the privacy of your home.

I'll also reveal to you some startling facts. Why lawyers often charge substantial fees for incorporating when often they prefer not to, and why two-thirds of the New York and American Stock Exchange companies incorporate in Delaware.

You may wonder how others have successfully used the book. Not only a small unincorporated business, but enjoyable hobbies, part time businesses, and even existing jobs have been set up as full fledged corporations. You don't have to have a big business going to benefit. In fact, not many people realize some very important facts. There are 30,000 new businesses formed in the U.S. each and every month. 98% of them are small businesses; often just one individual working from home.

To gain all the advantages of incorporating, it doesn't matter where you live, your age, race, or sex. All that counts is your ideas. If you are looking for some new ideas, I believe my book will stimulate you in that area. I do know many small businessmen, housewives, hobbyists, engineers, and lawyers who have acted on the suggestions in my book. A woman who was my former secretary is incorporated. She is now grossing over $30,000 working from her home by providing a secretarial service to me and other local businesses. She works her own hours and has all the corporate advantages.

I briefly mentioned that you can start with no capital whatsoever. I know it can be done, since I have formed 18 companies of my own, and I began each one of them with nothing. Beginning at age 22, I incorporated my first company which was a candy manufacturing concern. Without credit or experience, I raised $96,000. From that starting point grew a chain of 30 stores. I'm proud of the fact that at age 29 I was selected by a group of businessmen as one of the outstanding businessmen in the nation. As a result of this award, I received an invitation to personally meet with the President of the United States.

I wrote my book, **How To Form Your Own Corporation Without A Lawyer For Under $50,** because I felt that many more people than otherwise would could become the President of their own corporations. As it has turned out, a very high proportion of all the corporations formed in America each month, at the present time are using my book to incorporate.

Just picture yourself in the position of President of your own corporation. My book gives you all the information you need to make your decision. Let me help you make your business dreams come true.

As a bonus for ordering my book now, I'll send you absolutely free a portfolio of valuable information. It's called "The Incom Plan" and normally sells for $9.95. It describes a unique plan that shows you how to convert most any job into your own corporation. You'll increase your take-home pay by up to 25% without an increase in salary or even changing jobs in many cases. If you are an employer, learn how to operate your business with independent contractors rather than employees. This means that you'll have no payroll records or withholding taxes to worry about. And you'll be complying with all I.R.S. guidelines. "The Incom Plan" includes forms, examples and sample letter agreements to make it possible.

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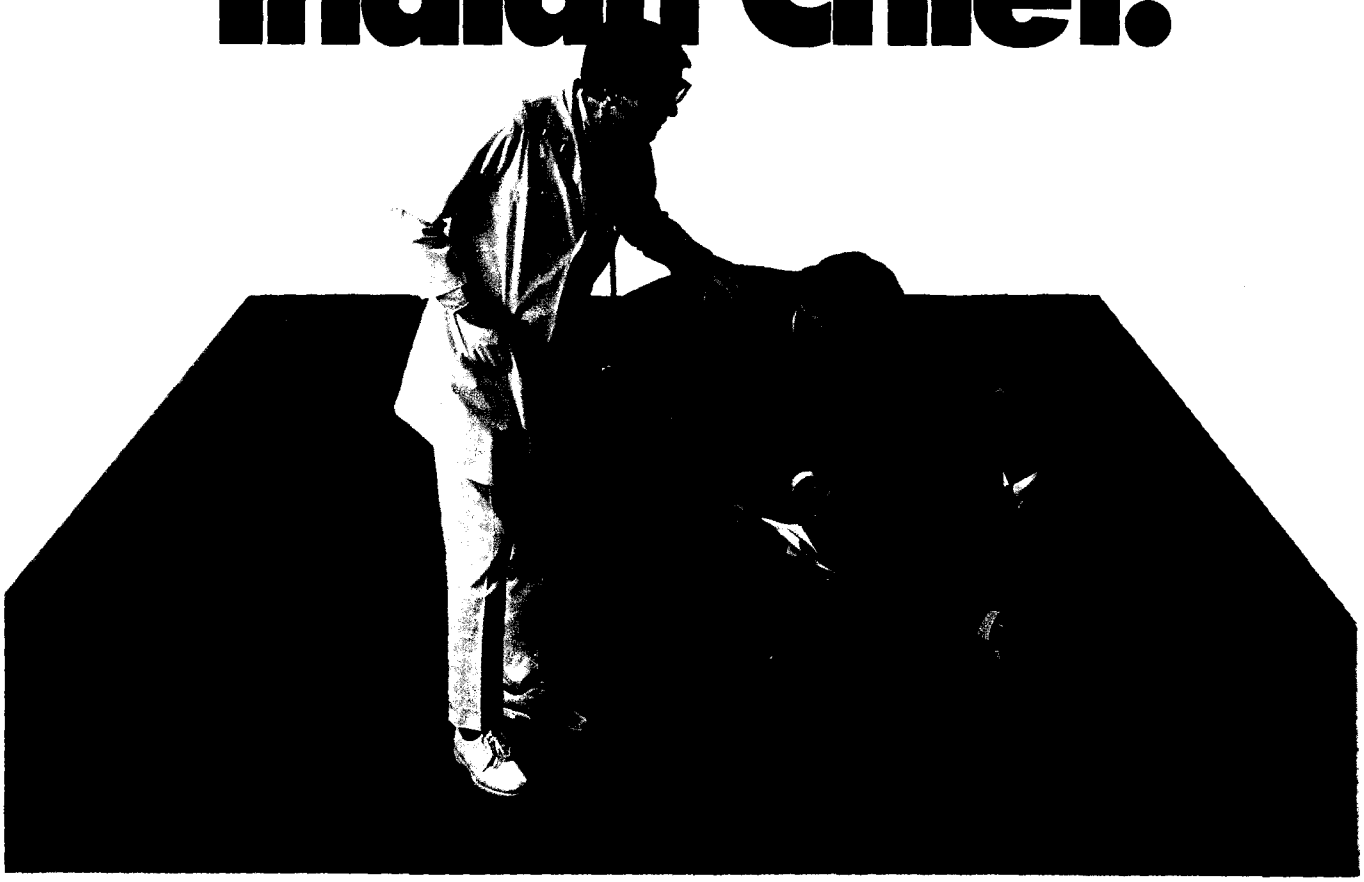

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